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ABSTRACT

Section A of the Journalism and Media History section of the proceedings contains the following 16 papers: "Covering the 'World's Most Famous' Trial: An Examination of the Choices Made by Georgia Reporters" (Gregory C. Lisby and Linda L. Harris); "Market Segmentation and Political Capital as Supports for Newspaper Partisanship: The Partisan Press in Detroit, 1865-1900" (Richard L. Kaplan); "Mary Marvin Breckenridge Patterson: Case Study of One of 'Murrow's Boys'" (Maurine H. Beasley); "Two Religious Magazines Report on South's First Public School Desegregation" (June N. Adamson); "The Roots of the Trade Press: The American Railroad Journal and the Professionalization of an Industry, 1832 to 1840" (Kathleen L. Endres); "Eugene V. Smalley and the 'Northwest Magazine': A 'Shill' for the Northern Pacific's Land Department or a Force for Community Building in the Northwest?" (Myron K. Jordan); "Catholics, the Catholic Press, and Communism: From Recognition to Cold War" (Gregory D. Black); "The Life Cycle of National Geographic Magazine" (Meredith Ogburn); "An Institution of the Historical Public Sphere: 'The Independent' in the Progressive Era" (James Boylan); "Reflections on Realities and Possibilities: Womens's Lives in New Republic Periodicals" (Karen K. List); "An Analysis of the Failure of 'Flair' Magazine" (Patricia Prijatel and Marcia Prior-Miller); "Child Care for Rosie the Riveter and the United Nations: Images of Innovation and Visions for the Future in Popular Magazines 1941-1949" (Rose M. Kundanis); "Worcester Magazine: A Scrappy Fighter" (Elinor Kelley Grusin and Dru Riley Evarts); "Edes' Boston Gazette and the Bill of Rights: Trumpeter of Sedition Ends on a Quieter Note" (Dru Riley Evarts and Elinor Grusin); "'This Paper is Owned by Many Thousands of Workingmen and Women': Contradictions of a Socialist Daily" (Jon Bekken); and "The Role of the 'Nonpartisan Leader' Newspaper during the Nonpartisan League Organization Years, 1915-1916" (John Anderson). (PRA)

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COVERING THE 'WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS' TRIAL:

AN EXAMINATION OF THE CHOICES MADE BY GEORGIA REPORTERS

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COVERING THE 'WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS' TRIAL: AN EXAMINATION OF THE CHOICES MADE BY GEORGIA REPORTERS

Dayton, Tennessee, made a place in history for itself in the summer of 1925. It was a carefully planned effort, as much a publicity stunt as anything else.[1] Tennessee's anti-evolution law had been enacted earlier that year, and soon thereafter, advertisements appeared in state newspapers for a teacher willing to violate it. The recently-organized American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)[2] wanted to test the constitutionality of the law. In May, several of Dayton's town leaders wondered if the publicity generated from such a trial might not be used to promote their community. John Scopes, who had just completed his first year of teaching in Dayton and who -- during that time -- had substituted for the regular biology teacher, agreed to say he had taught Charles Darwin's theory of evolution[3] to his science classes at the local high school. His arrest, indictment, and trial that summer attracted nationwide attention, including the interest of such legal minds as Clarence Darrow[4] and William Jennings Bryan.[5] The result was "a pivotal progressive-evangelical shoot-out" between Enlightenment and Ignorance in the war against 19th-century Puritanism.[6] The trial had "all the material of classic tragedy: public men on a scale larger than life; the conflict of great ideas; the confrontation of science and religion, agnostic and true believer; a forum in which each has his say, and a decision is required. There is little wonder that the Scopes trial so caught the imagination of journalists, dramatists, filmmakers."[7] In addition, it holds a unique place in legal history because it presented "issues particularly fundamental to a democratic society committed to both individual freedom and the right of the people to shape their public institutions."[8] So great were expectations regarding the trial's importance that between 100-200 reporters from across the nation flocked to Dayton to attend the event,[9] which was also broadcast over Chicago's WGN.[10]

Much has been written about what has been called "the world's most famous court trial."[11] Overall media coverage of the trial has also been analyzed.[12] Yet no writer thus far has examined the dispatches of reporters who attended the trial.[13] What did they write about? Did their writing supplement or duplicate available wire service coverage? Did their coverage add to an understanding of the issues at hand? Did they ever intend to report the coming events objectively, or were they in Dayton solely to provide their readers with a point of view? This paper, which focuses on Georgia reporters at the trial, is part of a larger project which aims to examine the attitudes of all reporters in attendance with regard to the issues raised by the trial. Most of the material contained herein was obtained from the Julian and Julia Collier Harris Papers and the Mildred Woolley Seydel Papers, both housed in the Special Collections Division of the Robert W. Woodruff Library for Advanced Studies at Emory University in Atlanta; the newspaper library of the

Columbus Ledger-Enquirer in Columbus, Ga.; the Georgia Newspaper Project at the University of Georgia in Athens; the W.C. Bradley Memorial Library in Columbus; and from interviews with witnesses of the events chronicled herein.[14]

The Evolution Controversy in Georgia

Darwin's On the Origin of the Species[15] and The Descent of Man,[16] in which he expounded his evolutionary ideas, had been around many years before fundamentalists began crusading against modernism in religion. Many had begun to examine Darwin's concepts when, supported in belief if not in deed by the Ku Klux Klan and its appeal for a return to traditional American values, Bryan began traveling the country urging state legislatures to prohibit the teaching of evolution in public schools.[17] He spoke to the Georgia General Assembly on July 10, 1923, arguing that men who believe in evolution should go to the zoo on Sundays and decide how far they have come, while Christians should attend church to find out how much farther they must go to attain eternal life. The next year, a bill was introduced in the legislature, which would have made it "illegal and unlawful to teach, sanction or approve,"[18] in a publicly funded school or forum, any theory which held that men evolved from any lower animal.

Progressives like Julian and Julia Harris,[19] owners of the Columbus Enquirer-Sun, were appalled. They felt the enactment of such a law would be a death blow to education in

Georgia, but initially said nothing. Some thought this meant the Harrises held the same fundamentalist views as other residents of the Bible Belt -- which then included most of the South and whose religion was almost entirely Baptist and Methodist.[20] They did not. Fundamentalists believed the Bible literally. The Harrises believed the Bible to be divine, but thought that its contents should not be interpreted literally at all times. They believed that religion and the theory of evolution did not conflict, insisting that both pointed "unmistakably toward an omniscient Being presiding over the destiny of the Universe."[21] They believed themselves to be Christians,[22] but were not church-goers (although friends assumed they were).[23]

Harris did not really want to get into the fight, but Mrs. Harris urged him to reconsider.[24] He felt the Enquirer-Sun had led so many crusades that he wanted to wait for some of the larger papers to open fire.[25] None did. By Sunday, August 1, the Harrises had kept silent as long as they could. That day, the newspaper's editorial page was devoted to the subject. Mrs. Harris explained evolution and narrated its history,[26] while her husband wrote "uncompromising editorials of protest, day in and day out."[27]

Although Georgia editorial response, when it came, sided with the Harrises, it was Harris' August 1 editorial, "Thirteen Little Canutes," which set the pace for the others. "It was so widely copied that I believe it was the blow that knocked out the bill,"[28] Harris later said. In the editorial, Harris castigated the members of the House education committee, calling them the "thirteen midget-minded imitators of King Canute [who] are sitting on the sands of Ignorance at the edge of the great ocean of Truth ordering the tides of Knowledge to recede. Poor little King Canutes of the Georgia legislature -- they typify the spirit of the days when the world stood still, when the earth was flat. For flat must be their skulls, and certainly their brains have never budged."[29] This prompted state Representative C.R. McCrory to retort: "You write as if all opposed to your views were just common fools.... [D]on't teach your damnable doctrine to my child."[30] The bill was not acted upon before the legislative session ended August 13.[31]

In a congratulatory note, journalist Walter Lippmann wrote Harris: "It looks now as if the brave fight you've been making is going to bring results even sooner than we had a right to expect. More power to you."[32] Columbus industrialist Charles F. Pekor Jr. later paid the Harrises an even higher compliment when he wrote that had it not been for them, "Georgia instead of Tennessee would have been the scene of the [Scopes] trial."[33]

Published Dispatches

The trial opened Friday, July 10. For the Harrises, it was an educational and religious crusade.[34] They "had to borrow the money to get there, but the result was worth it."[35] However, contrary to Harris' memory, the Enquirer-Sun was not the only Georgia newspaper with representatives at the trial.[36] Mildred

Seydel (who wrote under the pseudonym Mildred Seydell) of the Hearst-owned Atlanta Georgian[37] was also there, but solely because, in the words of her father, that was where "all the important newspaper people are gathering [and] that's where you ought to be."[38]

The 36-year-old Mrs. Seydel had never covered a major news story.[39] She had only written articles for the Georgian's society section[40] and a series of features analyzing the character of various people through an examination of their hands.[41] But the trial was where she and her father agreed she should be. The scheme that she settled upon to get there was for her to get a picture of the gorilla's hand that she had examined for an earlier story[42] and -- in the words of the Georgian's city editor, Fuzzy Woodruff -- "do your stunt. With the monkey trial about to break, it will be a damn good feature."[43] It was Mrs. Seydel's "first big job."[44] Clearly, however, her trip "had more to do with boosting circulation through a gimmick tha[n] any real recognition of her reportorial skills."[45]

The basic news coverage the Enquirer-Sun and the Georgian provided their readers about the trial came from wire services, either the Associated Press or International News Service. Harris' articles on the trial,[46] like those of Mrs. Harris and Mrs. Seydel, were feature stories, as evidenced by their use of personal pronouns, although Harris' were more news-oriented. The first Enquirer-Sun dispatch from Dayton, written by Mrs. Harris, described their train trip: "The moment we entered the

Chattanooga-Dayton train today we were faced by fundamentalism in the shape of an elderly fat gentleman from Florida, who shared our section. He remarked lugubriously, as he mopped his streaming face, that no one could tell where the evolutionist conspiracies would end, and, as we offered no consolation in the face of such a sinister contingency, he added defiantly, 'One thing's sure and certain, Bryan knows how to quote the Bible.'"[47]

Bryan himself met the train when it arrived in Dayton, and Mrs. Harris' account of that meeting focused on his attire. The "Great Commoner," she wrote, wore "flappy linen pants, open-necked shirt with sleeves snipped off above the elbow and roughly hemmed, and [a] battered white helmet such as is worn by a movie hero in the tropics."[48] Mrs. Seydel's account in the Georgian followed suit. Depicting Bryan's "coatless and collarless costume" -- "a special style, a low neck and short sleeve contraption made for him by Mrs. Bryan" -- Mrs. Seydel concluded that he was "stripped for the fray."[49] In a tone that revealed the Harrises' reasons for coming, Mrs. Harris ended the first of nine features she was to write at the trial[50] by stressing that "fundamentalism of every kind is spreading its flamboyant banners in Dayton and flamboyancy is an easy winner of uninformed minds."[51]

But the Harrises were not alone among the hordes of fundamentalists at the trial, for it was there they began a lasting friendship with H.L. Mencken, reporter for the Baltimore Sun, editor of The American Mercury, "connoisseur of human folly, upbraider of presidents, puncturer of pomposites, baiter of boobs and hater of rusticity, especially of the Southern sort."[52] Mencken was quite happy to be at the trial for it "could not have displayed the antics of Boobus americanus more dramatically if he had invented them himself."[53] Other Georgians in attendance included Columbus residents Willis Battle and Judge A.W. Cozart, who, Mrs. Harris wrote, "is in his native haunts, being by birth a Tennessean and by inclination an anti-evolutionist."[54] When defense lawyer Clarence Darrow arrived, Mrs. Harris described him as "a most engaging figure, with an expression of great kindliness, a humorous eye and a genial smile,"[55] while Cozart reported that he wore "a sallow complexion, a sinister smile, stooped shoulders, a yellow shirt, suspenders and dark blue pants."[56]

When Mrs. Seydel met Darrow, she immediately told him how to win the case based on her belief in cheirognomy, the study of human character as reflected in one's hands.[57] Darrow initially agreed to allow her only five minutes (which turned into two hours) to explain her cryptic, whispered remark: "The [other reporters] have come to ask you questions, I have come to tell you how to select the jury."[58] She quickly reminded him that

> in selecting the jury, it is essential that you choose men who are innately intelligent -- some will have had no schooling -- for no matter how brilliant your arguments, how much to the point, if the jurors have not the minds to understand, you will lose your case....
>
> Now then, Mr. Darrow, lucky for you that a man must hold up his hand when he takes the oath. Now look at that hand -- particularly the thumb. If the thumb grows high on the hand, is fat and flabby, Mr. Darrow, don't waste your time questioning the fellow, for that is a sure sign of a lack of intelligence. But if the thumb grows low on the hand, is long and slender, take that man for that is a certain indication of mental ability.[59]

Harris came away from an interview with Darrow not sharing Mrs. Seydel's convictions or optimism. He wrote that Darrow did not hope to win without an appeal because the composition of the jury, "which an enthusiastic woman anti-evolutionist described as 'Beautiful,' precludes anything but the convicting of Scopes."[60] Although the trial's "real fireworks" would not begin until the following Monday, Harris noted that two speeches had already been made for the prosecution -- a "fifteen-minute prayer" with which the trial was opened[61] and the judge's charge to the jury.

Monday, Harris publicized an incident which occurred Sunday at the Dayton Methodist Episcopal Church, North, and which resulted in the resignation of the church's minister, asserting that "it suggests a return to the medieval attitude of the church and foreshadows a renaissance of the religious intolerance and hatred which were fostered by ignorance."[62] The minister had invited a modernist minister to speak Sunday morning and a fundamentalist minister to speak at the evening services. When he was informed that his church would be "smashed" if the modernist spoke, he resigned after notifying "his congregation that their state of unfairness required another pastor."[63] That same day, Bryan was preaching at the Dayton Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Tuesday, Mrs. Harris wrote of attending -- or spying upon -- a Holy Roller prayer meeting on the outskirts of Dayton and revealed her own intolerance for any religion which did not wholly rely upon intellect, reason, and logic. After describing the "primitive scene" and the "hysterical culmination," Mrs. Harris recorded that the other members of her group agreed that the prayer services were

> both pathetic and repulsive. What a barren and meager existence, what an ignorant and superstitious mentality must lead these poor "Rollers" to find comfort and pleasure in such demonstrations! How much wiser and more humane it would be if the power and energy which is being expended in the efforts of the fundamentalists to keep evolution out of the schools should be directed towards the education and physical uplifting of such people as these poor illiterates who exist in the backwaters of all our Southern states.[64]

As the trial continued, the Harrises began to write about themselves and their part in the trial more and more, even referring to the Enquirer-Sun by name. Harris wrote an article July 15, which appeared in the next day's paper under the headline, "Article Read from Enquirer-Sun Brings Highlight of Trial," recounting how Mencken had read a guest editorial in a recent Enquirer-Sun, "Bryan Democrat Arraigns Bryan Bigot,"[65] and suggested that Darrow read it into the record of the trial to illustrate Bryan's contradictory nature. The attempt, however, failed. But no ground had been lost and the "casualty list contains the names of no volunteers who are fighting to save

Tennessee from the chains of ignorance and the blight of bigotry."[66]

Harris stayed away from the trial Thursday, July 16, collecting his thoughts and writing an analysis of what was happening. In the resulting article, Harris reflected that "my strongest impression is that the state -- and Bryan and his associates -- are not speaking for the truth.... On the other hand, the defense has never equivocated, never sidestepped an issue."[67] About 400 subscribers, approximately 6 percent of the Enquirer-Sun's circulation, canceled their subscriptions, objecting to Harris' "perspective."[68]

This latest circulation drop did not deter the Harrises, who continued writing about the Enquirer-Sun's "involvement" in the trial. The next day, Mrs. Harris reported that:

> The Enquirer-Sun shared in an important and dramatic episode in the Scopes trial on Wednesday, even though the part it played was not known to the general public. Only counsel for the defense, H.L. Mencken, W.J. Bryan, and the two representatives of the Columbus paper present in the courtroom were aware that the clear, positive and absolutely unmistakable plea for religious freedom which Dudley Malone introduced into his statement of the case of the defense as having appeared twenty years ago as a foreword to an edition of "Jefferson's Statute of Religious Liberty" was from the pen of Bryan himself -- a plea against the very principles which the great "Commoner" is defending today as chief counsel for the prosecution.[69]

The Harrises also allowed a former Enquirer-Sun reporter, Nunnally Johnson, who was likewise in Dayton, the opportunity to throw a few praises in their direction by publishing a story by Johnson in which Mencken was quoted as saying: "The most constantly interesting and intelligent newspaper I know, to be read day after day, is Julian Harris' Enquirer-Sun...."70 The admiration the Harrises obviously felt for Mencken can also be seen in an editorial in which Harris argued that Scopes' guilt was inconsequential, but that every American's right to freedom of belief was important: "So the Enquirer-Sun prefers to stand for both religious liberty and intellectual freedom. We have not the slightest interest in knowing or directing any man's religious views, but with Voltaire we are willing to fight to the death that he may pursue them in peace. And we can say with Mencken, who when accused of intolerance, replied: 'I am intolerant only of intolerance.'"71

In their last article before returning to Columbus, Mrs. Harris told of a visit with Darrow and his wife and portrayed the lawyer as the kindest of men. The article's first-person narrative style was clearly unusual for the front page of the Enquirer-Sun:

> Before I could frame another question [Darrow] snapped one at us. I say "snapped" because he popped it at me with the energy and fresh interest of a child playing a game, his face lighting up and his eyes sparkling:
>
> "Now I'm going to ask you young folks if you have ever read a novel which is my greatest favorite -- 'Of Human Bondage'?"
>
> "We have, we have!" cried the two "young folks" in enthusiastic unison, for this wonderful novel of Somerset Maugham's is also one of our great favorites.72

The Unpublished Seydel Dispatches

Mrs. Seydel wrote articles about the hands of at least two participants in the Scopes trial -- William Jennings Bryan and Judge John Raulston[73] -- before returning to Atlanta.[74] There is no evidence, however, that they were ever published.[75]

Bryan's hand, she wrote, is an "energetic hand with a leaning toward the beautiful and picturesque in life,"[76] "indicating a man of splendid ideals, of lofty thoughts, and spiritual cravings.... Unfortunately, in both hands we notice a hollow palm. A bad sign. It denotes temper."[77] Bryan's fingers are "smooth, short, and conic tipped, implying an impulsive disposition [yet an] artist in the use of words."[78] His "thumb displays a powerful will. It sits low, swings out from the palm, is excellently developed in good proportion, a formation indicative of a brilliant mind."[79] And his little finger stands "apart from the others, a sure sign of independence of action."[80] But it was Bryan's unusually long index fingers that especially attracted Mrs. Seydel's interest. This characteristic, she wrote, is "a sign of leadership. True enough, Bryan is a leader. Leading is his middle name. He's always leading. He led the fight for free silver to begin with and when he gets through leading the anti-evolutionists he'll find something else to lead."[81]

Raulston's hands, according to Mrs. Seydel, "show him to be a man of high ideal[s], pracitcal [sic] and jovial, proud and determined, ambitious and just," although his "thumb sits a triffle [sic] too high on his hand."[82] His "generous and affectionate disposition" is evident in the "suppleness" of his thumbs, as his "spirit of fun and good nature" is in the "curve of his fingers." And the pads on the ends of his fingertips show that he is a man of such tact "that he easily won the election for MJudg [sic] in a demoncratic [sic] district, Republican though he was."[83]

Why were the articles never published? Mrs. Seydel's collected personal papers do not offer an answer.[84] It may be that even the Hearst newspapers and associated companies -- as much as they may have pandered to the sensationalistic -- were surprised by events which occurred the week following the end of the Scopes trial and felt that a more sober, less trivial approach to the life of William Jennings Bryan was in order.

Aftermath and Conclusions

Five days after Scopes was convicted,[85] on Tuesday, July 21, Bryan died of exhaustion. The Harrises returned to Columbus, somewhat disillusioned about their crusade. Harris could not understand why "in the evolution fight several fundamentalists were bitter, even to the point of being insulting."[86]

Praises of Bryan flowed in newspapers across the country, even in those which had been his staunchest critics at the trial. Even the Harrises felt obliged to join the chorus, conceding that Bryan could not be fairly judged by the last few years of his life.[87] But even such meager praise was more than offset by an editorial lauding Darrow for his tolerance[88] and by a later article by Mrs. Harris in which she said the key to Darrow's character was "a total lack of self-righteousness."[89]

The following year, the Harrises and the Enquirer-Sun were awarded the Pulitzer Prize "for the most disinterested and meritorious public service rendered in [the newspaper's] brave and energetic fight against the Ku Klux Klan, against the enactment of a [l]aw barring the teaching of evolution, against dishonest and incompetent public officials and for justice to the Negro and against lynching."[90] It was the first small city daily to be so honored. The award, however, did not slow the Harrises' worsening financial problems nor was it able to keep them from being forced to sell their newspaper in 1929.[91]

For a time during the month of December, Harris negotiated with representatives of William Randolph Hearst for a position in Atlanta. But when the job offer came, it was for the editorship of the Georgian and not for the post Harris had expected. Without hesitation, he rejected the proposal and said, "I should be glad to consider an offer as publisher of the Georgian."[92] Such an offer was never made and the Harrises left Columbus in 1930.

After the trial, Mrs. Seydel began an attempt to answer a question posed by Darrow: "Is there a criminal type of hand?"[93] Following Mencken's suggestion that she go "to the source, to the penitieraries [sic] where there would be hands of criminals to study [and] to compare," she took "his parting advise [sic]: Do Mabel's hand; she will get you in those penitieries [sic]."[94]

While examining the hands of inmates in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary and in many courts, Mrs. Seydel began to study criminology. This interest, plus her knowledge of French, helped get her a place on the Hearst Crime Commission in 1926 which was then planning a trip to Europe to investigate "the crime situation abroad and to aid in bringing about some solution to this vital problem in America."[95] Although nothing came of her study of hands,[96] four annual trips abroad thereafter and two books -- Secret Fathers[97] and Chins Up![98] -- helped Mrs. Seydel establish a national reputation that insulated her from the effects of the Georgian's sale and demise in 1939.[99] The following year, she founded the Seydell Syndicate and The Think Tank, and in 1948, the Mildred Seydell Publishing Company and The Seydell Quarterly through which she continued to write and publish.

For the Harrises, attending the Scopes trial was part of their continuing mission of regional education and enlightenment. In this they were marginally successful. They won the Pulitzer Prize for their efforts, but lost their newspaper. For Mrs. Seydel, attending the Scopes trial was the door to opportunity and she made the most of it. Where she succeeded in capitalizing upon her abilities, the Harrises failed. Where she failed in garnering the commendation of her profession (which, admittedly, was not her aim), the Harrises succeeded. It is a timeless -- and unanswerable -- question: Which is the more important?

NOTES

1. See John Scopes and James Presley, Center of the Storm: Memoirs of John T. Scopes (New York, 1967).

2. Organized in 1920 by a group of civil libertarians -- including Roger Baldwin, Jane Addams, and Helen Keller -- the group "leaped to the bait" offered by Tennessee's law with "open advertisements for shock troops ..." (Charles L. Markmann, The Noblest Cry: A History of the American Civil Liberties Union, New York, 1965, 324).

3. Darwin (1809-1882), an English naturalist, developed the principle of natural selection, which became the foundation of evolutionary theory.

4. Darrow (1857-1938) was probably the most famous criminal lawyer in America at the time, having in 1924 represented Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb, who were charged with the kidnapping and "thrill killing" of Bobbie Franks in Chicago.

5. Known as "The Great Commoner," Bryan (1860-1925) was a skilled orator who ran unsuccessfully for president in 1896 against William McKinley, again in 1900 against McKinley, and in 1908 against William H. Taft. He was appointed secretary of state by Woodrow Wilson in 1913 and served until 1915.

6. Peter Steinfels, "Beliefs: A Pivotal Progressive-Evangelical Shoot-Out That Is Still Taking Its Toll in Today's America," New York Times, Dec. 8, 1990, [page number unknown].

7. Morris B. Kaplan, "The Trial of John T. Scopes," 112, in Robert S. Brumbaugh (ed.), Six Trials (New York, 1969). The 1960 movie based on the trial, "Inherit the Wind," starred Spencer Tracy and Frederic March in the roles of Darrow and Bryan, and Gene Kelly as H.L. Mencken. Editor & Publisher magazine ("Weird Adventures of 200 Reporters at Tennessee Evolution Trial," July 18, 1925, [1]) described the trial as "the queerest story of the generation, weird as a nightmare, side-splittingly funny, darkly tragic, a huge joke, a sinister threat, running the whole gamut of politics, religion, science and sociology, all about everything and all about nothing, and by all odds the most difficult newspaper assignment of many years.

"To the newspaper men the trial drags along slowly, tiresomely, bitterly. At the other end of the wire it no doubt reads like good copy, but to the sweltering, agonized, exhausted group of men and women on the job in the yellow tinted courtroom, it has already gone on long enough. The reporters are all sick of the grease soaked food, the upsetting water, the jungle heat and the exhausting, Herculean work, recording a play of emotions, ranging from hateful words that sting like bullets to bowing and scraping court manners smacking of ill-concealed deceit. Everyone's nerves are racked to shreds. Hours and hours in a suffocating room, the air heavy and caviling, peevish, cynical acrimony and bitterness descending to malignity, on issues sometimes so thin as to border on farce and sometimes so momentous as to suggest revolutionary consequences."

8. Kaplan, "The Trial of John T. Scopes," 108.

9. Editor & Publisher (ibid., [1], 4) was inconsistent in its estimates. While in its headline, it estimated 200 reporters attended the trial, it put the number at "some 225" in its lead paragraph, guessed "200 newspaper men and special writers[,] ... photographers and what-not" in the story's twenty-first paragraph, and listed 92 by name at the end of the article (most from the East and Southeast, but one from as far away as Germany), including Adolph S. Ochs of the Chattanooga Times, H.L. Mencken of the Baltimore Evening Sun, and two journalists from Columbus, Ga. -- Mr. and Mrs. Julian Harris of the Columbus Inquirer Sun [sic]. In addition, it noted that there were 15-20 unregistered journalists in attendance.

10. James W. Wesolowski, "Before Canon 35: WGN Broadcasts the Monkey Trial," Journalism History 2 (Autumn 1975):76-79, 86-87.

11. See, for example, Leslie H. Allen, Bryan and Darrow at Dayton: The Record and Documents of the Bible-Evolution Trial (New York, 1967, first published in 1925); Brumbaugh, Six Trials; L. Sprague de Camp, The Great Monkey Trial (Garden City, N.Y., 1968); Ray Ginger, Six Days or Forever?: Tennessee v. John Thomas Scopes (New York, 1958); Sheldon N. Grebstein (ed.), State of Tennessee vs. John Thomas Scopes (Boston, 1960); Scopes and Presley, Center of the Storm; Jerry R. Tompkins (ed.), D-Days at Dayton: Reflections on the Scopes Trial (Baton Rouge, 1965); and The World's Most Famous Court Trial: Tennessee Evolution Case (Cincinnati, 1925).

12. See, for example, Donald F. Brod, "The Scopes Trial: A Look at Press Coverage after Forty Years," Journalism Quarterly 42 (Spring 1965):219-226; Edward Caudill, "The Roots of Bias: An Empiricist Press and Coverage of the Scopes Trial," Journalism Monographs 114 (July 1989); and Wesolowski, "Before Canon 35."

13. The Atlanta Constitution is among thirteen newspapers and magazines whose coverage is analyzed by Caudill, "The Roots of Bias." Yet no reporter from that newspaper actually attended the trial.

14. Those interviewed included Loretto Lamar Chappell, Louise Jordan DuBose, and Kathleen Koonce Woodruff. Miss Chappell and Mrs. Woodruff were both personal friends of the Harrises, and Mrs. DuBose, the first female reporter hired at the Enquirer-Sun.

They were interviewed in 1975 in connection with the senior author's 1977 master's thesis -- completed at the University of Mississippi -- "Someone Had To Be Hated: The Pulitzer Prize-Winning Editorial Campaigns of Julian Harris and the Columbus (Georgia) Enquirer-Sun." All three have since died.

15. London, 1859.

16. New York, 1895 (revised and augmented edition).

17. Several states acceded to his plea. In 1923, Oklahoma and Florida enacted anti-evolution laws. The Kentucky legislature defeated such a law by one vote in 1922. Mississippi adopted a similar law in 1926 and Arkansas, by popular vote, passed an anti-evolution law in 1928. See Kaplan, "The Trial of John T. Scopes," 108.

18. Maynard Shipley, The War on Modern Science (New York, 1927), 127. See also Keay Davidson, "Georgia and the Evolution Controversy of the 1920s," The Emory Scholar (1975), 54.

19. Harris, a former managing editor of the Atlanta Constitution, was the eldest son of author Joel Chandler Harris, creator of the Uncle Remus and Br'er Rabbit tales; and his wife, the daughter of a former mayor of Atlanta, was Joel Chandler Harris' first biographer.

20. Thomas Boyd, "Defying the Klan," The Forum 76 (July 1926), 48.

21. Keay Davidson, "Julian and Julia Collier Harris: Courageous Journalists," Georgia Life 2 (Summer 1975), 24. See also the account of the activities of the Enquirer-Sun, which were recognized by the Pulitzer Prize, written in Harris' hand at the request of Clark Howell for the Atlanta Constitution, undated. The piece is housed as part of Julian and Julia Collier Harris' personal papers in the Special Collections Division of the Robert W. Woodruff Library for Advanced Studies at Emory University in Atlanta, hereinafter referred to as Harris Papers.

22. Julian Harris was raised a Roman Catholic. Julia Harris was raised in the Methodist church and the Harrises were married by a Methodist minister. Harris once said he didn't attend the Catholic church any more because Catholics were required to "make a confession every week and he couldn't think of anything to confess; when he realized he was making up sins to confess, he ... quit." (Interview with Mrs. Louise J. DuBose, West Columbia, S.C., August 9, 1975.) Thereafter, the Harrises attended the Methodist church, "until a preacher uttered so many bigoted and intolerant sentiments [that they] decided not to attend further" (Harris to Edwin Mims, a professor at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Nov. 14, 1925, Harris Papers). Explaining her

religious convictions, Mrs. Harris wrote:

"For many years, so-called religion has been perfectly meaningless to me, and the absurdities and ... actual hypocrisies which orthodox preachers proclaim from the pulpit every Sunday are so insulting to my intelligence and my love of truth that I have come to have a dislike for the term....

"One has only to read all ... the gospels to realize how far, how very far, orthodox religion has departed from the spirit of Christ.

"That is why I cannot be a church member. I realize it is a seeming paradox to say, 'I am not a member of any church because I believe _literally_ in the message of Jesus,' but such is the fact!" (Mrs. Harris to Kathleen Koonce, Oct. 15 (year unknown). The letter was the personal property of Mrs. George C. Woodruff, the former Miss Koonce, a copy of which was obtained during a 1975 interview.)

23. "I never invited them to come to our church. I don't know why I didn't. I assumed they already worshipped somewhere," Miss Loretto Lamar Chappell said (interview, Columbus, Ga., Sept. 18, 1975).

24. In a letter to the New York _World_ after winning the Pulitzer Prize, Harris wrote: "A very great deal of the credit for our continuous fight for justice and tolerance, and against bigotry and ignorance is due to Julia Collier Harris. It was she who urged me to take up the fight against the move to bar the teaching of the theory of evolution.... Her articles from Dayton, Tenn., were a factor in stopping the effort to bar the teaching of evolution in Georgia...." (quoted in "Courageous Harrises Won Pulitzer Prize for Enquirer Fight Against Klan," Columbus _Ledger-Enquirer_, Oct. 18, 1953, E:9,16.)

25. Harris to Jerome B. Landfield, executive secretary of the Pulitzer Prize Advisory Board, Jan. 22, 1926, Harris Papers. See also "Courageous Harrises," _ibid._

26. See "Evolution Offers Scientific Proof That an Omniscient Being Exists," Columbus _Enquirer-Sun_, Aug. 1, 1924, 6.

27. Charles F. Pekor, Jr., "An Adventure in Georgia," _The American Mercury_, August 1926, 411.

28. Harris to Mims, Nov. 14, 1925, Harris Papers.

29. "Thirteen Little Canutes," _Enquirer-Sun_, Aug. 1, 1924, 6. See also Davidson, "Evolution Controversy," 55-56; Davidson, "Courageous Journalists," 24; and Boyd, "Defying the Klan," 52.

30. "Those Favoring Teaching of Evolution Called Conniving Scholastic Infidels and Egotistical Unbelievers by M'Crory," _Enquirer-Sun_, Aug. 8, 1924, 6.

31. There appears to be some question as to whether Georgia's first anti-evolution bill was actually defeated by a vote in the Georgia House of Representatives or whether it was not voted on and allowed to die at the end of the legislative session. Boyd writes that "the Anti-evolution bill went down defeated," implying a vote ("Defying the Klan," 52-53). Pekor makes it most emphatic, though, when he writes, "When the bill came to a vote at last, it met an overwhelming and, to Georgia, astonishing defeat" ("An Adventure in Georgia," 411). Davidson, however, is correct when he states that the bill was allowed to die when the legislative session adjourned. (See Davidson, "Courageous Journalists;" and Davidson, "Evolution Controversy.")

32. Lippmann to Harris, Aug. 20, 1924, Harris Papers.

33. Pekor, "An Adventure in Georgia," 411.

34. They believed that the South's greatest needs were "education, which leads to straight thinking; religious tolerance; and justice for the Negro" (Harris to the Normal Class of '26, Eastern Kentucky Normal School, Richmond, Ky., Nov. 27, 1926, Harris Papers). Mrs. Harris expressed the hope "that irrational hatred of everything that science implies [can] be extirpated from the breast of the 'man in the street' who is prone to regard science as a kind of Bugaboo!" ("Evolution Offers Scientific Proof," Enquirer-Sun, Aug. 1, 1924, 6.) Using a gardening analogy, Harris wrote Nell Battle Lewis (May 20, 1926, Harris Papers):

"It seems to me that in any constructive work, it is first necessary to cut down the weeds of prejudice and remove the undergrowth and debris of intolerance and traditionalism before we will have the soil prepared for any constructive planting or building....

"In this way, I felt that if the clearing out process was successful ... the soil of our state and section would have been so worked and so fertilized that such dangerous [beliefs] could never again take foothold."

35. Harris to Mims, Nov. 14, 1925, Harris Papers. Six months later, the Harrises were still paying on the note. (See also Boyd, "Defying the Klan," 53; and Pekor, "An Adventure in Georgia," 411.)

36. Harris to Mims, Nov. 14, 1925, Harris Papers. Boyd (ibid.) and Pekor (ibid.) both made the same mistake, as did Louis Griffith and John Talmadge in their history of Georgia journalism (Georgia Journalism, 1763-1950, Athens, Ga., 1950, 147). It is an unusual mistake to be made when it was Mrs. Harris who reported that the Georgian was represented at the trial in "Pen Picture of Trial, Its Setting and Stars, Sketched by an Artist," Enquirer-Sun, July 13, 1925, 1. According to Mrs. Harris, "Aside from the representative of the Atlanta Georgian, the only

representatives of the Georgia press in Dayton today are those of the Columbus Enquirer-Sun...."

37. "The High Priest of Yellow Journalism" purchased the Georgian Feb. 5, 1912 (Griffith & Talmadge, Georgia Journalism, 140). Throughout his "27-year tenure in Georgia," his "reputation for sensationalizing the news and filling his newspapers with such non-journalistic items as comic strips and crossword puzzles ... accelerated the movement of other newspapers toward the kind of features, columnists and specialized sections which have enlivened newspapers and made them a better package of information and entertainment" (Millard B. Grimes (ed.), The Last Linotype: The Story of Georgia and Its Newspapers Since World War II, Macon, Ga., 1985, 4).

38. Vassar Woolley quoted in "Record on the Wall," unpublished autobiographical manuscript, 25. The manuscript is housed as part of Mildred Woolley Seydel's personal papers in the Special Collections Division of the Robert W. Woodruff Library for Advanced Studies at Emory University in Atlanta, hereinafter referred to as Seydel Papers.

39. Her first newspaper job had been as a community correspondent for the Charleston, W.Va., Gazette in 1921 for Nitro, 15 miles outside Charleston. She had wanted to be a columnist since meeting Dorothy Dix in New York in 1909 and finding that she made $50,000 a year as a syndicated columnist. Dix said "she did not have the background education for writing in a literary style so she wrote as ordinary people and she talked. She used common sense and often humor. She paid little attention to spelling and grammar. Mildred said that if ever she had to make a living, she would be a columnist, too" (Untitled biographical sketch, 1, Seydel Papers).

40. Mrs. Seydel's articles published in the Atlanta Georgian or Sunday American before the trial include, "More Tact by Women Urged by Mrs. Brogon To Cut Down Divorces," Jan. 18, 1925, second news front; "Straw Hat Day To Show Man Style Slave," April 17, 1925, page number unknown; "Pencil in Cheek Gives Dimple to Girls," April 29, 1925, page number unknown; "Atlanta Agog Over High Cost of Beauty," May 1, 1925, page number unknown; "Beads Lose Out in Rivalry with Lovely Eyes," May 12, 1925, page number unknown; "Photo in Phone New Wrinkle in Petting," June 2, 1925, page number unknown; "Wrist Watch Slips Clear to Neck," June 9, 1925, page number unknown; "Woman Lawyer, Partner of Mate, Tells How Woman Can Keep Home," June 17, 1925, second news front; "Mirror Dress Newest Fad of Fashion," June 20, 1925, page number unknown; and "Sombrero Fad Foils Summer Sun's Rays," July 10, 1925, second news front. Even after she returned from Dayton, Tenn., she continued to write articles for the Georgian's society pages. See, for example, "Black Butterflies on Legs Attract Attention to Atlanta Beauties," Sept. 16, 1925, page number

unknown; and "Co-Eds Kidnap Freshmen To Clean House," Sept. 22, 1925, page number unknown. These and other articles are contained in one of Mrs. Seydel's scrapbooks in the Seydel Papers.

41. The series began in 1924 when she joined the staff of the Georgian as a way to write about the thing that interested her most (See "Record on the Wall," Seydel Papers). Her father, an Atlanta attorney, "had been opposed to the hand stories [but] yielded to their allure after he became convinced I was in no danger of becoming a gypsy sort of fortune teller" ("Record on the Wall," 25). According to Mrs. Seydel, there are seven basic types: the elementary hand, the square hand, the philosophic hand, the spatulate hand, the conic hand, the psychic hand, and the mixed hand ("Hands Never Lie: What Is Yours Saying?" typed article in Scopes Trial folder, Seydel Papers). Her subjects included illustrator James Montgomery Flagg; millionaire publisher Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr.; Mabel Willebrandt, assistant attorney general of the U.S.; Texas Siamese twins Daisy and Violet Hilton; Vice President Charles G. Dawes; filmmaker Cecil de Mille; and John Daniel II, a circus gorilla. The last of the series was published March 3, 1926.

42. "John Daniel, Gorilla, Found Suited to His Vocation by Hand Reading," Georgian, Oct. 31, 1924, page number unknown.

43. Quoted in "Record on the Wall," 25B, Seydel Papers.

44. Ibid. It was at the trial that she met the Harrises, who "knew everybody apparently and all the ropes. With admirable generosity, they took me in charge and ... under their tutelage it was easy to get a contact, to stag [sic] each celebrity, to get a picture of his hand and a story from him..." ("Record on the Wall," 26, Seydel Papers).

45. In this way, Mrs. Seydel was like Kathleen "Kit" Watkins, who covered the Spanish-American War in 1898 for the Toronto Mail and Empire. Barbara Freeman, "A Canadian Woman Journalist Covers the Spanish-American War: 'Kit' in Cuba 1898," a paper presented to the History Division of the Association of Educators in Journalism and Mass Communication, Washington, D.C., Aug. 10-13, 1989, 18. See also Freeman, "'An Impertinent Fly': Canadian Journalist Kathleen Blake Watkins Covers the Spanish-American War," Journalism History 15 (Winter 1988):132-140.

46. His articles, published in the Enquirer-Sun, include "Darrow Has No Hope of Winning Verdict in Present Trial," July 11, 1925, 1; "Bryan's Statement Is Called Hypocritical, Darrow's Is Lauded," July 12, 1925, 1; "Dayton Congregation's Action Called Example of Bigotry of Times," July 13, 1925, 1; "Speech of Darrow Outstanding Feature of Monday Session," July 14, 1925, 1; "Monkey Trial Judge Loses His Balance in Heat of Strife," July 15, 1925,

1,2; "Article Read from Enquirer-Sun Brings Highlight of Trial," July 16, 1925, 1,7; and "Tactics of Opponents in Evolution Trial Compared by Editor," July 17, 1925, 1.

47. "Flamboyant Banners of Fundamentalists Overspread Dayton," Enquirer-Sun, July 10, 1925, 1. Besides paying their own way to the trial, the Harrises also ran up substantial telegraph expenses, since most of their stories were sent by Western Union.

48. Ibid.

49. "Bryan 'Strips' for Trial in Dayton," Georgian, July 10, 1925, 1. This was the only article she wrote about the trial ever published in the Georgian.

50. The articles, all published in the Enquirer-Sun, include "Flamboyant Banners," July 10, 1925, 1; "Pen Picture of Trial, Its Setting and Stars, Sketched by an Artist," July 13, 1925, 1,3; "Holy Roller Meeting Demonstrates Need for Dayton Education," July 14, 1925, 1,3; "Potter, Julius, Mencken Interesting Personages at Evolution Trial," July 15, 1925, 1,2; "Dayton's Simple Faith and Mental Dishonesty of Others Contrasted," July 16, 1925, 1,2; "Dudley Malone's Reply to Bryan Gives Him His Big Day in Court," July 17, 1925, 1; "Enquirer-Sun Shares Dramatic Episode in Evolution Trial," July 18, 1925, 1,2; "Bryan's Long Silence Ends in Outpouring of His Pent-Up Wrath," July 19, 1925, 1,3; and "Visit in Darrow Home Reveals Great Lawyer as Kindliest of Men," July 20, 1925, 1,2.

51. "Flamboyant Banners," Enquirer-Sun, July 10, 1925, 1.

52. de Camp, The Great Monkey Trial, 144. Mencken's biographer, Edgar Kemler, describes the Harrises as "the most thorough-going Menckenian editors in the South" in The Irreverent Mr. Mencken (New York, 1950), 224.

53. de Camp, ibid., 145.

54. "Pen Picture of Trial," Enquirer-Sun, July 13, 1925, 1. Davidson contends that "Enquirer-Sun readers received fundamentalist interpretations of the trail from Judge A.W. Cozart, who accompanied the Harrises to Dayton and whose dispatches they had printed" ("Evolution Controversy," 62), implying that his interpretations of the trial were on a regular basis. However, only two such articles were published: "Fundamentalist View of Evolution Trial Presented by Cozart," Enquirer-Sun, July 12, 1925, 10; and "Fundamentalists vs. Modernists," Enquirer-Sun, July 14, 1925, 4.

55. "Pen Picture of Trial," ibid., 1.

56. "Fundamentalist View of Evolution Trial," Enquirer-Sun, July 12, 1925, 10. While all the Harrises' articles were played on the front page of the newspaper, Cozart's were published on the inside of the paper. See also Davidson, "Evolution Controversy," 62.

57. Mrs. Seydel claimed "Aristotle believed in character analysis by the hand. He wrote a book on the subject" ("Hands Never Lie," 8, Seydel Papers). She did not, however, identify which book. The writings of Aristotle dealing with the body include "Historia Animalium," (edited by D'Arcy W. Thompson, in The Works of Aristotle Translated into English (Vol. 4), J.A. Smith and W.D. Ross (eds.), Oxford, 1910); and "De Partibus Animalium," (edited by William Ogle); "De Motu Animalium, De Incessu Animalium," (edited by A.S.L. Farquharson); and "De Generatione Animalium," (edited by Arthur Platt, in The Works of Aristotle Translated into English (Vol. 5), J.A. Smith and W.D. Ross (eds.), Oxford, 1912).

58. "Record on the Wall," [28], Seydel Papers. In the original manuscript, this page has two handwritten page numbers in the upper right-hand corner -- 30 and 33.

59. Ibid., [28-29]. In the original manuscript, page 29 has two handwritten page numbers in the upper right-hand corner -- 31 and 34. Mrs. Seydel's manuscript contains the only known record of this conversation. In another, slightly different version of this encounter, Mrs. Seydel concludes that "Mr. Darrow looked down at his own thumb and he saw that it was set from the hand, was straight and long and energetic, and my argument convinced him immediately" ("Hands Never Lie," 13, typed article in Scopes Trial folder, Seydel Papers).

60. "Darrow Has No Hope," Enquirer-Sun, July 11, 1925, 1. Further demonstrating its pre-occupation with religion as the dominant issue in the case, the Enquirer-Sun published a group photograph of the jury July 14, identifying each juror by name, occupation, and religious affiliation ("Striking Study of Jury Deciding Scopes Evolution Case," 2). According to the cutline, the jury included 10 farmers, an ex-Marshal, and a clerk; six Baptists, four Methodists, a member of the Christian Church, and one man with no religious affiliation.

61. Based on the length of the prayer in a copy of the transcript reprinted in The World's Most Famous Court Trial, [3], it does not appear that the prayer actually lasted a full fifteen minutes, although it may have seemed that long to some listeners.

62. "Dayton Congregation's Action," Enquirer-Sun, July 13, 1925, 1.

63. Ibid.

64. "Holy Roller Meeting," Enquirer-Sun, July 14, 1925, 1.

65. The editorial, first published in the New York World, was published in the Enquirer-Sun, July 9, 1925, 6. It was reprinted in its entirety again in "Article Read from Enquirer-Sun," Enquirer-Sun, July 16, 1925, 1,7.

66. "Article Read from Enquirer-Sun," ibid., 1.

67. "Tactics of Opponents," Enquirer-Sun, July 17, 1925, 1.

68. Harris to Mims, Nov. 14, 1925, Harris Papers. Pekor notes that "250 of these have come back into the fold since" ("An Adventure in Georgia," 411), and Harris wrote Mims that he expects "to be back to our previous circulation in less than a month." (See also Boyd, "Defying the Klan," 53.) However, Enquirer-Sun circulation figures published in Editor & Publisher show the newspaper's 1926 circulation to be 6,346 (Jan. 30, 1926, 34), 706 less than its 1925 circulation of 7,052 (Jan. 31, 1925, 25). Thus, even if the 400 subscribers did return, the Enquirer-Sun lost that number and more before the year was out.

69. "Enquirer-Sun Shares in Dramatic Episode," Enquirer-Sun, July 18, 1925, 1.

70. "Dayton Show Is Over Except for Formalities of Verdict and Fine," Enquirer-Sun, July 19, 1925, 1.

71. "The Issue in the Scopes Case," Enquirer-Sun, July 19, 1925, 6. Interestingly, Mencken's diary (Charles A. Fecher, ed., The Diary of H.L. Mencken, New York, 1990) contains "numerous examples of Mencken's racist and anti-Semitic views" ("Knopf To Publish H.L. Mencken Diary," New York Times, Dec. 6, 1989, 20). See also Gwen Owens, "Mencken -- Getting a Bum Rap?" Times, Dec. 13, 1989, 31; and Herbert Mitgang, "A Man of Bitter Prejudices, a Writer with Agile Wit," Times, Jan. 1, 1990, 12. For a contrary view see, Sheldon L. Richman, "Mencken: Iconoclast? Yes. Anti-Semite? No," Washington Journalism Review, March 1990, 18; and "Even Dead, Mencken Has More To Criticize," Times, Feb. 11, 1991, B1-B2.

72. "Visit in Darrow Home," Enquirer-Sun, July 20, 1925, 1.

73. If there were more, the articles about the hands of these two are the only ones that still exist in the folder of typed articles marked "Scopes Trial" in the Seydel Papers. Other articles have been incorrectly filed in the folder, including analyses of the hands of John Daniel II (published Oct. 31, 1924); Vice President Charles Dawes (published Oct. 16, 1925); illustrator James Montgomery Flagg (published Dec. 2, 1924); and Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt, assistant U.S. attorney general (published June 23, 1925). An article included in the folder but

obviously written after Mrs. Seydel returned from Europe with the Hearst Crime Commission in 1926 refers in passing to Clarence Darrow's hand as the "hand of a man which is exactly like him. It looks like a farmers [sic] from a distance but has all the earmarks of genius upon close examination" ("Hands Never Lie," 11, Seydel Papers).

74. She apparently returned home before the trial ended, because on July 16, 1925 -- five days before Scopes' conviction -- Mrs. Seydel wrote a birthday tribute about a local merchant ("H.S. Johnson Says Smile To Stay Young," Georgian, 3).

75. They were clearly never published in the Georgian. There is evidence that she attempted to sell at least one of them to International News Service and Universal Service, both Hearst-owned companies supplying syndicated news and feature material to Hearst newspapers (George D. Tyson, Atlanta Manager, International News Service, to [first name unknown] Kase, July 13, 1925, Seydel Papers). In only one of several biographical sketches of Mrs. Seydel is the reader informed that the hands articles from the Scopes trial "proved so popular that the Universal Service took them" (Untitled typed biographical sketch, 3, Seydel Papers). In her obituary, Tom Bennett ("Mildred Seydell, 98, of Roswell, Globe-Trotting Newspaper Writer," Atlanta Journal-Constitution, Feb. 21, 1988, page number unknown) wrote, "Her character analyses of the participants were syndicated and ran in more than 400 newspapers." There is no evidence to corroborate these claims -- no letter of acceptance and/or contract from Universal Service, which Hearst closed in 1937; no acknowledgement of payment received; no tearsheets from any newspaper that might have published the articles; no letters of response from any readers; and no mention of this in her autobiographical manuscript, "Record on the Wall," Seydel Papers. In addition, a search of clippings and microfilm in the archives of the New York Journal-American, Hearst's flagship paper, yielded no articles by or about Mrs. Seydel during this period.

76. Untitled typed article about Bryan, 2, Scopes Trial folder, Seydel Papers.

77. "Look at the Two Hands and Draw Your Own Conclusion," 3, Scopes Trial folder, Seydel Papers.

78. Ibid., 2.

79. Ibid.

80. Untitled typed article about Bryan, 2, Scopes Trial folder, Seydel Papers.

81. "Look at the Two Hands," 2-3, Scopes Trial folder, Seydel Papers.

82. "Bryan vs. Darrow," 1, typed article in Scopes Trial folder, Seydel Papers.

83. Ibid., 3.

84. Representatives of Hearst Newspapers in New York and the Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas-Austin -- repository of the New York Journal-American's library -- contacted by telephone in 1989-90, could not offer an answer either.

85. Scopes was fined $100 and ordered to pay court costs. However, the conviction subsequently was overturned by the Supreme Court of Tennessee on a technicality -- that fines over $50 were to be levied not by the judge but the jury -- thwarting defense plans to appeal the verdict. The state declined to prosecute Scopes a second time. The law, however, remained on the books until its repeal in 1967.

86. Harris to Mims, Nov. 14, 1925, Harris Papers. In a letter to Julia Harris, Joseph M. Krutch wrote: "I guess you too will have to put up with being called an 'irreligious woman'.... The trouble with the South is that its inhabitants pass directly from Fundamentalism into Babbitism. If they have any other than material interests they are sure to be ignorantly superstitious" (July 28, 1925, Harris Papers).

87. See "William Jennings Bryan," Enquirer-Sun, July 28, 1925, 4.

88. See "Striking Impression of Tolerance," Enquirer-Sun, July 30, 1925, 6.

89. "Keynote of Clarence Darrow's Character Is a Spirit of Kindliness and Tolerance," Enquirer-Sun, Aug. 2, 1925, 6. The article by Mrs. Harris was a full two-and-a-half columns long -- fifty-odd inches -- and was written in answer to a charge that Darrow was "a tired old man."

90. Wording of the Enquirer-Sun's Pulitzer Prize citation, which is on display in the Harris Room of the Special Collections Division of the Robert W. Woodruff Library for Advanced Studies at Emory University in Atlanta. The citation, dated June 2, 1926, is signed by Nicholas Murray Butler, then president of Columbia University. The Enquirer-Sun's gold medal is displayed nearby. While it cannot be denied that the Enquirer-Sun took a very active role in the crusade to allow the teaching of evolutionary theory in Georgia schools, it is unclear why the Pulitzer Prize Advisory Board cited the newspaper for its fight. None of the material submitted in support of the newspaper's nomination for the Pulitzer Prize included any editorials or articles written by either of the Harrises about evolution, the Scopes trial or their role in the crusade. In fact, Harris only

mentions the newspaper's evolution crusade in the cover letter accompanying the newspaper's nomination. See Harris to Landfield, Jan. 22, 1926, Harris Papers.

91. See Gregory C. Lisby, "Julian Harris and the Columbus Enquirer-Sun: The Consequences of Winning the Pulitzer Prize," Journalism Monographs 105 (April 1988).

92. Harris to Ed Swasey, no date, Harris Papers. Harris turned down the job because the Georgian's editor throughout the 1920s, James B. Nevin, was a friend and "the only link that the Georgian has with the soil...." "Most" of the Georgian's recent publishers, on the other hand, "have been 'dead horses'," Harris believed. If a change were to be made, "it should be to put in charge a man who is known in the South, preferably a Georgian -- a man who is trusted by the people," Harris wrote, in other words, himself. According to Editor & Publisher, the Georgian had at least four publishers during the decade, including T.B. Goodwin, F.A. Wilson-Lawrenson, William C. Edwards, and Russell R. Whitman. (See Jan. 27, 1923, 23; Jan. 26, 1924, 25; Jan. 31, 1925, 25; Jan. 30, 1926, 34; Jan. 28, 1928, page number unknown; Jan. 26, 1929, 32; and Jan. 25, 1930, page number unknown. The 1927 volume was unavailable.)

93. "Record on the Wall," [29], Seydel Papers. In the original manuscript, this page has two handwritten page numbers in the upper right-hand corner -- 31 and 34.

94. Ibid., [30]. "Mabel" is an apparent reference to Mrs. Mabel W. Willebrandt, assistant attorney general of the United States, who supervised federal penal institutions. If this is the case, something in the chronology is incorrect. Mrs. Seydel published an analysis of Mrs. Willebrandt's hand in the Georgian on June 23, 1925 ("Wisdom Seen in Hand of Woman Aide to U.S. Attorney General," page number unknown), more than two weeks before she met Darrow and Mencken in Dayton.

95. Victor Barron, financial editor of the Georgian, to E.W. Fairchild, president of Women's Wear in New York, July 23, 1927, Seydel Papers. In the letter of introduction, Barron describes Mrs. Seydel as "one of the most capable members of the Hearst organization" who "is given the best assignments here."

96. After returning from Europe, Mrs. Seydel wrote, "I have examined hundreds of hands of criminals all over the world and, whereas, I am not prepared to say there is a criminal type, I can definitely state that there is a certain characteristic about an honest hand that is lacking in the hand of the criminal" ("Hands Never Lie," 8, typed article in Scopes Trial folder, Seydel Papers). In later years, her interest in hands was even joked about in the Georgian and Sunday American. Sports Editor Ed Danforth wrote that Mrs. Seydel "used to be more or less of a

psychic. Early in her career she wrote a series of articles for our paper by reading the palms of famous people. Once Mildred gave me a reading. After one look at my palm she fainted and I never learned what she saw..." ("An Ear to the Ground: Mildred Seydell To Pick Derby," Sunday American, date unknown, page number unknown; the column is included as part of the Seydel Papers).

97. New York, 1930. The book is a fictional tale of a woman of means with a distaste for marriage who undertakes to bear a child out of wedlock and the consequences of that act for the "eugenic" child. After publication of the book, some accused Mrs. Seydel of promoting eugenic babies, terming the concept the "Seydell Plan." She later wrote a movie script based on the book, which was "accepted by Paramount [Pictures] but the Hayes [Commission] turned it down for there was a rule against putting on the screen anything about illegitimacy" (Note by Mrs. Seydel on copy of movie script, no date, Seydel Papers).

98. New York, 1939. Subtitled, Short Stories with Long Morals -- A Way of Thinking That Will Lead to Happiness and Success, Mrs. Seydel describes the book's contents as "daily spiritual vitamins" in its preface (viii). The anecdotes were collected from Mrs. Seydel's columns in the Georgian of the same name. But even with the publication of a book such as this, Mrs. Seydel did not escape controversy. Chastising her for a lack of originality, Lamar Ball wrote, "I find the Gospel quite simple.... It pains me to learn that you have had to wait so long to learn that there was a book, published long before Chins Up!, known as the New Testament.... Get down to earth, Mildred" (May 1, [year unknown], Seydel Papers).

99. "Hearst's extravagant habits -- both in his newspapers, and in his personal life -- forced him to sell off some of his properties ... including the Georgian. James M. Cox, a former governor of Ohio, and the Democratic presidential candidate in 1920, bought both the Georgian and the [Atlanta] Journal in 1939, and immediately closed down the Georgian" (Grimes, The Last Linotype, 4-5).

Market Segmentation and Political Capital as Supports for Newspaper Partisanship: The Partisan Press in Detroit, 1865 - 1900

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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the issue of political partisanship in the press in nineteenth-century America, and it asks what conditions helped maintain and prolong this political advocacy and party identification by newspapers. The main theory presented suggests that economic market conditions constituted a crucial influence on the maintenance of this partisanship. In essence, newspapers, under conditions of strong competition, will specialize their audience appeal in order to secure the greatest possible number of readers. In the nineteenth-century, newspapers differentiated their appeal along the lines of price, partisan preference and, also, language in order to capture a segment of the market.

As a test case for this theory, this paper studies the interaction of daily journals in the Detroit metropolitan market area from 1865 to 1900. Episodes of newspaper competition, conflict and crisis are examined, and I also reconstruct the motives and understandings of the editors and publishers involved in these "episodes."

The nineteenth-century, it has repeatedly been proclaimed, was the era of partisan journalism. Newspapers conducted a biased and vituperative journalism that celebrated the fortunes and fates of the two political parties. The political parties embroidered their annual election struggles with elaborate rituals of partisanship; voters would march in torchlight parades through the city streets ending up at massive rallies where the partisans and on-lookers would cheer long-winded oratory. All these were reported in minute detail by the press with lauding, chronological accounts of the preferred party's rallies, verbatim records of the speeches, and graphic illustrations of roosters crowing over every election triumph.[1]

What accounts for the persistence of this press partisanship in the nineteenth-century and how did it end? To answer this question this essay scrutinizes the market interaction of newspapers in the Detroit metropolitan area from 1865 to 1900. Through the observation of various episodes and crises in Detroit newspaper history, I arrive at a series of propositions about newspaper competition and the market segmentation of readers along the lines of political preferences. In essence, I claim that newspapers, in the face of strong competition, were forced to specialize their appeal in order to capture a select share of the available readers. This market share was defined partly by party divisions. Further, this competition of newspapers and their resulting market strategies was influenced and strengthened by the introduction of "political capital" into the newspaper market, that is--capital invested in newspapers for political reasons, typically by office-seeking politicians.

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[1] Richard Jensen, The Winning of the Midwest (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971) pp.4-6.

However, when and why America's press ended its formal party affiliations and became a neutral, information press is still today a matter of debate. Any historian's account of the timing and reasons for the ending of this partisanship typically implies a particular picture of the mechanisms that supported the press' political advocacy. Michael Schudson and Daniel Schiller, for example, situate the beginnings of the end of our partisan press in the "penny papers" of the 1830s.[2] Schudson depicts a mixture of government patronage of newspapers and a circulation confined to the politically oriented elite as part of the explanation for the newspapers' strong allegiances to either the Whig or Federalist parties. But, in the 1830s, Schudson says the market and the polity expanded to incorporate all the (white, male) citizens. This transformation of the Jacksonian era destroyed the old economic and cultural supports for press partisanship.

Michael McGerr, on the other hand, locates the change much later in the 1870s to 1890s, in the political-cultural movement of the Liberal Republicans. McGerr's argument in timing and causes is in greater proximity to this paper's. He dismisses purely economic explanations for the changes in the press' political content. He tells us that the ending of party subsidies and government patronage to newspapers along with expanding market opportunities meant a newspaper could pursue a sales and profit maximizing strategy of political neutrality. But, he asserts,

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[2] Michael Schudson, Discovering the News (New York: Basic Books, 1978) and Daniel Schiller, Objectivity and the News (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.)

> By themselves, the material changes in the newspaper business did not destroy partisan journalism....[E]ditors had been willing partners, not slaves, of party. Freed by their profits, they did not necessarily want to run away.[3]

For McGerr, the historian needs to explain the change in attitude towards politics by paper editors and publishers, a change in cultural views which he discovers in the elite, political movement of Liberal Republicans.

Nevertheless, against McGerr's internal focus on the attitudes of editors and his overly simple economic analysis, this essay returns to the external economic environment and wishes to complicate McGerr's depiction. It is necessary to consider the total economic environment,[4] the "ecological context," and more specifically the other set of newspapers that constitute rivals for the given, available market resources. This "organization-set" analysis suggests that in a competitive newspaper environment, the rational economic

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[3] Michael McGerr, The Decline of Popular Politics; The American North, 1865-1928 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) pp.110 and 112.

[4] Paul Hirsch writes that culture producing organizations can be studied from three angles; the first angle is occupational roles, professional culture and attitudes; the second focuses on the organizational structure--its division of labor and its coordination; and the third focuses on the organization's political and (mainly) economic environment. This paper concentrates on the last level. See his "Occupational, Organizational and Institutional Models in Mass Media Research: Toward an Integrated Framework," in Peter Miller, Paul Hirsch and F. Gerald Kline (eds.) Strategies for Communication Research (Beverly Hills: Sage Publishers, 1977).

strategy for maximizing a journal's audience and profits cannot be a mass appeal to an undifferentiated audience. As Glenn Carroll says, mass, unspecialized newspapers will "aim for the center of the market but are forced to differentiate themselves from their competitors by developing some unique or special appeal."[5] An undifferentiated sales appeal will lose readers to journals that more precisely tailor their editorial content to an audience segment's particular desires. Just as with the competitive market of radio stations that find it necessary to appeal to specialized musical tastes, publishers in nineteenth-century America could and did appeal to a reading audience stratified along class, ethnic and partisan lines.

As a matter of fact, researchers studying other countries have documented a national press that is divided up according to party affiliations and political preferences. But these authors explain the political specialization of these newspapers exclusively by the partisan segmentation of the subscribing audiences, not by reference to competitive newspaper strategies. "[N]ewspapers consistently shift to a strategy of audience-maximization through the adoption of generalized content materials. [But,] the extent to which this shift can take place is a function of the degree of polarization and segmentation in the reading audience." Most particularly, it is party preferences and political cleavages that "prevented a shift towards a non-controversial content. Attempts to maintain a neutral attitude

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[5] Glenn Carroll, "Concentration and Specialization: Dynamics of Niche Width in Populations of Organizations," Organizational Behavior and Industrial Relations Working Paper, no.2 (University of California, Berkeley, March 1984) p.17.

were not well received by the readership."[6] My analysis of the partisanship of Detroit newspapers joins this focus on audiences segmented by party loyalty to Carroll's emphasis on the role of a competitive market in enforcing such specialized appeals.

While ecological theories of the competitive market's impact on the editorial strategies of individual newspaper organizations may be a construct of twentieth-century social science, such ideas were not totally foreign to the nineteenth-century. Indeed, Gilded Age newspaper entrepreneurs developed remarkably similar theories to guide themselves in investing in profitable press enterprises. For example, James E. Scripps, founder of the innovative, cheap, and politically independent Detroit News outlined a similar notion of audience segmentation, market niches, or in his words market "fields," in his address to a convention of Michigan newspaper publishers. In his speech on "Some Elements of Success in Journalism" Scripps argued against too many papers competing for the limited resources of a city's market. "Newspapers are planted by scores in places and under circumstances in which they cannot by any possibility succeed and this in great measure accounts for the great number of newspaper failures." And, "the remedy for supernumerary papers is consolidation..." But, beyond arguing for the reduction in the number of papers in order to benefit from economies of scale, Scripps' major point is that the newspapers need to specialize, they must possess "a sufficient field." What a "field" is becomes clear in his subsequent discussion.

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[6] Terry Amburgey, Marjo-Riitta Lehtisalo, and Dawn Kelly, discuss the case of Norway in their "Suppression and Failure in the Party Press," in Glenn Carroll (ed.) Ecological Models of Organizations (Cambridge: Ballinger Publisher, 1988) pp. 155, 157.

> As a rule, there is never a field for a second paper of precisely the same characteristics as one already in existence. A Democratic paper may be established where there is already a Republican; or vice versa; an afternoon paper where there is only a morning; a cheap paper where there is only a high-priced one; but I think I can safely affirm that an attempt to supplant an existing newspaper...of exactly the same character has never succeeded...
>
> So strongly am I impressed with the disadvantages under which papers other than the leading ones labor that I would even abandon the profession rather than waste my energies upon a newspaper that was not in some important respects at the head of the list...All other positions involve only years of toilsome labor and no reward.[7]

Thus, Scripps claims that any new journal must make a sales appeal to a major market segment not previously addressed by another newspaper. Otherwise the publisher will be permanently a second-place paper and, consequently, crippled in the race for sales and advertising dollars. Furthermore, he suggests that the major market appeals are predicated on price, partisan editorial content, and whether the paper is published in the morning or evening.

Now I turn to a number of key episodes and conflicts in Detroit newspaper history from 1865 to 1900 in order to highlight how market dynamics and politically divided audiences help perpetuate partisan newspapers.

I. The Crisis at the Detroit Free Press in 1872.

The events unfolding at the Detroit Free Press in the Summer and Fall of 1872 form one illuminating example of the pressures on a newspaper, pressures that arises from a market segment of partisan readers when the newspaper deviates from their expectations of its appropriate partisan content. As the national election campaign of 1872 approached, the Democratic party desperately sought out an electoral strategy to reverse their persistent and strong losses to the Republicans. 1872 also saw the "bolting" from the Republicans of a group of upper-class reformers, who were disgusted with the corrupt administration of President Grant. They established an independent party known as the Liberal Republicans. The Democrats, hoping to capitalize on this Republican disaffection, also nominated the Liberal Republicans' presidential candidate Horace Greeley. However, this selection and endorsement of Greeley involved the reversal of a number of Democratic policy stands, for up until then Greeley in his strong, outspoken editorial stands in the New York Tribune had always supported abolition, Black civil rights and Republican reconstruction policies and had bitterly attacked the Democrats. This act of political expediency was a "hard worm to swallow," and many Democratic faithful and old timers rebelled.[8]

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[7] James E. Scripps, "Some Elements of Success in Journalism," in Proceedings of the Michigan Press Association, 12th Annual Meeting (1879) (Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.)

The Detroit Free Press was a long-standing Democratic newspaper, indeed the leading one in Michigan. Its service to the party had gained it the typical rewards of state printing contracts, postmaster positions for its publishers and a body of loyal readers.[9] And, its part-owners, Colonel Freeman Norvell and Henry Walker, were two such Democratic faithful who rebelled at the swallowing of so many Democratic principles and so much Democratic pride.

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[8] Harry W. Baehr, Jr., The New York Tribune Since the Civil War (New York: Octagon Books, 1972) ch.5-6.

[9] George Catlin, "Little Journeys in Journalism: Wilbur F. Storey," Michigan History Magazine, V.10, no.4 (1926.)

According to the reminiscences of reporter Edward Holden, the remaining proprietor of the Free Press, Editor William Quinby, "took alarm" at Norvell and Walker's daily, strident repudiation and denunciation of Greeley in the pages of their journal.

> [Quinby]...believed the Free Press would lose prestige among the steadfast loyal and intelligent followers and leaders of the Democratic party should it prove disloyal to the party's official actions...In his opinion the party could better afford to support the absurd nomination of Mr. Greeley than go to pieces over such an issue.[10]

Indeed, Quinby only needed to consult the pages of one of his competitors to observe this threat mobilizing. For example, the cheap, daily, workers' paper the Union was glad to publicize the Free Press' difficulties. Likewise, the Republican journals, the Advertiser and Tribune and the Post, were quick to highlight these divisions within the Democratic Party. The Union ran one story entitled "The Free Press Censured By A Democratic Convention"

> The Clinton County Democratic Convention...passed a resolution censoring the Free Press for its actions in not publishing the speeches of leading Democrats at the late Greeley ratification meeting at the Young Men's Hall.
>
> It is due to the Free Press to say that the reason the speeches were not published is because no pay was offered that paper for doing so. The call for the meeting was published by the Free Press and paid for by the Democrats of this city. It was supported by the committee who had the matter in charge that the Free Press would publish the proceedings as a matter of news. Democrats through out the state will take notice, however the Free Press is no longer a news paper, at least as far as the publishing of the proceedings of democrats meetings is concerned--unless it is paid for it.[11]

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[10] Edward G. Holden, "Little Journeys in Journalism: Recollections of Some Prominent Members of the Free Press Staff," Michigan History Magazine, V.11, no.3 (1927) p.427.

[11] Detroit Daily Union July 1, 1872, p.2 and see July 7, 1872 p.2 and May 5, 1872 among other articles.

The Republican Post gloated at the disarray in Detroit's Democratic ranks after the Democrats' Baltimore convention had nominated Greeley in July. They published this letter-to-the-editor:

A Democratic Paper Wanted

To the Editor of the Detroit Post:

> Help is wanted. The Democracy are without a paper. Anxious squads of Democrats were about the news room and post office today awaiting the arrival of the Free Press, and hopeful that its leader would be for Greeley and Brown--but oh! the disappointment! The Free Press can't see it, and consequently the subscribers can't see the Free Press and nearly all are ordering the Free Press stopped. Torn and mutilated Free Presses are upon the street...What shall be done?[12]

Editor Quinby, recognizing the mounting threat to the fortune and future of Michigan's "leading organ of the Democratic Party," opposed the political stand of owner Norvell. A stalemate developed where something had to give. Other newspapers predicted an abrupt surrender of the Free Press to the political and economic pragmatics of the situation.

Swallowing A Candidate

> ...[T]omorrow or the next day we shall see the Detroit Free Press going through the same process [as the New York World] in a small way. Like an ancient hen struggling with a piece of garbage whose dimensions were not accurately estimated beforehand, the...[Free Press] will

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[12] Detroit Post July 13, 1872, p.1. Also see July 16, p.2 and July 17 p.3. And the Detroit Advertiser and Tribune July 3, July 8 and July 10,1872, p.2.

Similarly, the Cincinnati Commercial lost readers and advertising when it bolted from the Republicans to the Liberals in the same 1872 election. See the account in Donald Curl, Murat Halstead and the Cincinnati Commercial (Boca Raton: University Presses of Florida, 1983) pp.72-3.

Milton McRae describes similar dynamics for Chicago papers around 1895 in his Forty Years in Newspaperdom (New York: Bretano's Publishers, 1924) pp.130-1.

> be seen choking away at the subject for a while...But it will worry Greeley down and ...advocate the ticket.[13]

Finally, Norvell sold out his interests in the paper to Quinby and partner and the Free Press was able to swallow "the garbage" of the Greeley nomination. Quinby ran the Free Press as the state's major Democratic organ until the political upheavals of 1896. For such loyal service he received an ambassadorship in 1891 as well as large newspaper profits.[14]

The first point of this vignette is that the Free Press directly appealed to a political community and political interests which expected the paper to perform in a clear partisan manner: endorsing and supporting the party's candidates and policies, and not just in editorials but, also, in the news.[15] Secondly, when the paper departed too far from these partisan standards, criticisms and threats would arise from party leaders and loyal party readers. But part of the market logic that I am describing involves competition; it was the competitive threat of another journal, which more closely mirrored the interests and views of the audience segment, that compelled the Free Press to retreat to a posture of loyalty to the party's endorsed candidates and platform.

In 1872, breathing down the neck of the Free Press and attempting to make the best of this break between the party and its official organ, was the Detroit Daily Union. The Union had endorsed and fought for Greeley as the Democrats' candidate immediately following his Liberal Republican nomination in May. As the Free Press resisted the Democratic party's selected ticket and as protests rolled in, the Union added as much wood to the fire as possible, and proclaimed itself the state's number one Democratic party organ to the heated protest of the Free Press.[16]

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[13] Detroit Advertiser and Tribune July 10,1872, p.2.

[14] Brewster Campbell and Edgar Guest, "William E. Quinby" in Earl Babst and Lewis Vander Velde (eds.) Michigan and the Cleveland Era (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948).

[15] It is not my point here to describe fully the nature and extent of partisan news, nor to analyze the justifications that the party papers gave for publishing such "biased" news.

There was yet another potential competitive challenge to the Free Press' economic viability and its monopolization of the Democratic market segment in '72. Quinby "had also heard threats that influential Democrats were talking of establishing a loyal rival to the Free Press in case of its faithlessness to the party."[17]

II. The Detroit Advertiser and Tribune in 1866.

Quinby knew better than to believe such threats were idle. For the Republican Advertiser and Tribune had similarly bucked the candidates and the control of the state party in 1866. And, a joint stock company of "prominent members of the [Republican] party in Michigan" established a rival official Republican journal, the Detroit Post, under the editorship of the prestigious politician Carl Schurz.

This leads to our third point. Much of the capital invested in the nineteenth-century newspaper, (at least in Detroit,) came from politicians and party officials who were pursuing elected offices and

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[16] See the Union's "prospectus" May 22, 1872 and articles May 14th and June 1st.

[17] Holden, op.cit., p.427.

attempting to enhance their political power and prestige. Not only did a given partisan market segment and the threat of other newspaper rivals serve as impetus for papers to express clear partisan loyalties, but such partisan correctness was enforced also by a party elite with the threat of their establishing an alternative organ.

One complication here is that both the Democratic and Republican parties often were split and riven by factions.[18] At stake in these mundane conflicts were the distribution of election spoils and government positions such as postmasters and custom house clerks or, alternatively, there were significant issues and policies to be fought over, such as civil service reform or Southern reconstruction. There was no way for any newspaper to remain loyal to all factions, (although some tried by a stance of neutrality between the factions.)[19]

Early on, Michigan enacted such conflicts within the Republican party and these battles embroiled the Detroit Republican press. The party divided between Michigan's senior senator, Zachariah Chandler, with his allies and the Advertiser and Tribune with up-state Republicans. According to which account one reads, the factional antagonism centered over Chandler's aggressive Radical Reconstruction stance, his iron-fisted control of the state party, his failure to fairly distribute political spoils, or his vulgar personality.

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[18] In the 1870s the major Republican factions were the Stalwarts and the Half-breeds. Cf. Morton Keller, Affairs of State: Public Life in Late Nineteenth Century America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977) ch.7. Senator Zachariah Chandler was a Stalwart.

[19] Baehr describes the scramble to invest in and gain control over the New York Tribune by different New York Republican factions after Horace Greeley's death November 29, 1872. Baehr, op.cit., ch.7.

Journalist Holden describes the events.

> The *Post* was established by Senator Zachariah Chandler and his political "machine." The *Detroit Tribune* had so prospered during the [Civil] war that it had begun "feeling its oats," indulged in more or less independence and had the temerity to criticize Mr. Chandler's rule of "blood and iron" in Michigan. This was *lese-majeste*, and the *Post* was set up for the purpose of both offsetting the lukewarm if not hostile influence of the *Tribune* and at the same time properly chastizing it.[20]

The *Post* lasted until 1877, but for twelve years polemics and "mud flew" between the two Republican papers.[21]

Thus, in this case capital was invested in a journal to gain the appropriately supportive publicity for the policies and electoral campaigns of various politicians and party officials. Let me look at "political capital" in Detroit papers in a more systematic manner.[22]

1) The *Post*, as we know, had Sen. Chandler's money but also among its stockholders were Senate candidate William Howard, Governor Crapo, and future senator Thomas Ferry.[23] In 1877 the *Post* and *Advertiser and Tribune* merged to form the *Post and Tribune*. In 1880 this fairly delapidated party sheet received a capital transfusion. Future senator and Republican Boss "James McMillan, who was beginning to entertain political ambitions and the hope of securing a party

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[20] Edward Holden, "Carl Schurz in Michigan," *Michigan History Magazine*, V.2, no.1 (1918) p.69. Also see the account by William Stocking, "Prominent Newspaper Men in Michigan," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* V.39.

[21] "Mud flew" is how the *Detroit Union* described it on November 12, 1868 p.2. For examples of the *Advertiser and Tribune's* anti-Chandler and anti-*Post* editorials and news examine November 28, 1868 p.2; January 7, 1871 p.2; July 11, 1872; January 1-7,1875. At one point it calls the *Post* "the Daily Chandler Suckling."

[22] In looking at the political capital invested in Detroit's dailies I neglect the German papers and the various short-term newspapers such as the *Telegram* and the *Times*.

[23] Thomas Applegate, "History of the Press of Michigan," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* V.6, p.66.

leadership in Michigan, bought a considerable part of Hiram Walker's interests. He found the load rather heavy so on March 3rd, 1881, he induced several staunch Republicans to combine with him." These investors included Republican bigwig and 1883 candidate for the senate Mr. James Joy and future governor Russell Alger.[24] In 1891 the paper was sold to independent publisher James Scripps. At the time of its sale, among its owners were Senator Stockbridge.[25]

2) The Democratic Free Press, until Quinby acquired control in 1872, was not so much a matter of politicians owning stock, as much as being run and edited by part-time politicians, such as editors Storey and Walker. They supplemented their newspaper income with the party spoils of printing contracts and awarded political offices.[26] In 1905 Quinby sold controlling interest to Republican William McMillan, the son of Senator James McMillan and himself a senatorial hopeful, Republican leader and congressman Col. Frank Hecker, and Charles Freer.[27]

3) The Republican Detroit Journal, writes the newspaperman and archivist George B. Catlin, was founded in 1883 and by 1884 was floundering and needed new funds.

> The new investors made their venture because one of the liveliest and most bitter modern presidential campaigns was coming on and they hoped to profit politically if not

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[24] George B. Catlin, "Detroit Journalism," (manuscript in the George B. Catlin Papers, Burton Historical Archives, Detroit Public Library.)

[25] Detroit Free Press, January 19, 1891 p.5.

[26] Frank Angelo, On Guard: A History of the Detroit Free Press (Detroit: Detroit Free Press, 1981) ch.s 3-4.

[27] Ibid., pp.115-116.

> financially and to be able to unload the Journal on other venturers.[28]

In 1886 and again in 1892 Senator Thomas Palmer invested large sums of money in the two-cent afternoon Journal.[29] Later on, in 1908 the Journal reviewed its politics and ownership of this earlier time period and characterized them in a derogatory manner;

> The Journal as an old-fashioned Republican party paper made no progress and no financial success. The Republican office holders and office seekers looked upon The Journal then as a sort of ladder by which to climb up to the plums, and when the plums were reached, the ladder was kicked over to paddle its own canoe.[30]

4) The Democratic Daily Union was formed in a printer's strike and stylized itself as a radical Democratic newspaper. I do not know of any outside political capital invested. Sold in 1874 to Scripps' Evening News.

5) Similarly, the independent Evening News mainly relied on the capital of James Scripps and that which he could gather from his assorted brothers and sister.

To summarize, political capital played a substantial role in Detroit's newspapers especially in the papers of Republican party, which was the dominant party in Michigan. And, this political capital supported the newspapers' role as political communicators--as partisan papers designed to propagate a partisan public opinion--instead of merely commercial vehicles. Of course, the resulting political

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[28] George B. Catlin, "Story of the Detroit Journal, 1883-1892," (manuscript in the George B. Catlin Papers, Burton Historical Archives, Detroit Public Library.)

[29] Ibid.

[30] Actually an article from the Kalamazoo Telegraph reprinted in the Journal, October 16, 1908 p.12.

journalism was rather narrowly defined to support the interests of the party and the party's candidates. Political capital promoted a partisan content directly, through the control of newspapers by political party interests, and indirectly, by the threat of potential competitors for a market segment, as we have seen in the case of the the Post against the Advertiser and Tribune, or in the example of the Free Press in 1872. Furthermore, this political capital stimulated press partisanship by its founding and financing of new or struggling journals, thus ensuring tight newspaper competition and the necessity of (partisan) market specialization.

But, beyond the political consequences of this competitive threat from potentially new or already existing newspapers, there were economic consequences. Even for politically motivated investors, profit could not be entirely neglected. And, indeed, there were too many newspapers competing for the same market share for all to profit.

To be sure, this was one of the points of Detroit News owner James E. Scripps' address to the state convention of publishers. There he polemicized against the entry of a second newspaper into any given market segment. Further, he explicitly took the feud and competition for the Republican market share as one of his examples of economically disadvantageous competition. But by 1878 Scripps noted that "unhealthy competition" in Detroit had been "done away with by the daily press resolving itself into two good dailies of the opposite politics and one strong independent afternoon journal." [i.e. The Free

Press, The Post and Tribune and Scripps' Evening News.][31] In 1875 Chandler had been defeated for re-election to the U.S. Senate. The two Republican papers, thus, lost the reason for continuing their economically harmful competition and merged in 1877.[32]

III. The Detroit Tribune under Scripps, 1891 and 1896.

There is an obvious counter-argument to this essay's assertion that newspaper competition for delimited market segments, where the market segment is defined by the readers' political inclinations, is a major support for continued newspaper partisanship. We demonstrated the persistence of ownership and control of newspapers by party officials and candidates. These politicians had their own political interests and did not need the views of their reader to guide them in ensuring that the newspaper pursued a partisan editorial policy. However, both the earlier discussed case of Quinby's Free Press and also the Tribune in 1891 provide counter-examples to any exclusive reliance on political ownership to explain newspaper politics. They are journals where the ownership has no clear political interests but the publisher still markets his paper to a particular, partisan, audience segment.

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[31] James Scripps, op. cit. This thinking typically guided Scripps and his brother Edward of the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain. The founding of the Detroit News was seen at the time as innovating a down-market, afternoon, short and condensed paper that was cheap, politically independent, pro-labor and also sensationalist. This was the typical marketing strategy and market segment aimed at by Scripps' chain of newspapers (albeit usually Democratic) and, we may add, the new journalism of Pulitzer and the New York World. See Oliver Knight (ed.) I Protest: Selected Disquisitions of E. W. Scripps (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966) on the Detroit News pp.27-28,30, 33 and on other Scripps publications pp.38-41, 45, 52-3.

[32] Cf. the announcement of merging Detroit Advertiser and Tribune October 13, 1877 p.2 and Detroit Post and Tribune October 14, 1877 p.4.

In the opinion of some commentators, Detroit's (and Michigan's) premiere Republican publication, the Post and Tribune, never quite overcame the damages to its finances and sales incurred in the earlier rivalry between the two factions of the party and their respective organs. Their competition "finally resulted in the demise of both papers and the conversion of one of the fiercest Democratic journals in the United States into a Republican organ, still bearing its original name, the Free Press."[33]

In 1891 the financially troubled Republican Tribune, (previously the Post and Tribune,) was sold to James Scripps who always believed in buying competing press properties and typically consolidating them into his afternoon paper. But this sale was contingent upon the agreement of Scripps and his managing editor Michael Dee to run the Tribune, as formerly, as an advocate of Republican policies and candidates.[34] They should not, as they were with the Evening News, be independent and vaguely siding with the Democrats, nor engage in their usual advocacy of municipal ownership of the street railway system and the abolition of tariffs.

Editor Dee telegraphed a wire to the head of the state Republican party, Sen. McMillan in Washington:

To Senator James McMillan

> Capt W H Stevens has Tribune matter in his control. Would you be kind enough to wire him early in morning...that you would be satisfied with me as director of Republican organ. He is a little fearful that I would be fool enough

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[33] So says Holden writing in 1918. Holden, "Carl Schurz in Michigan," p.69.

[34] On Dee see the article by George Catlin, "Little Journeys in Journalism: Michael J. Dee," Michigan Historical Magazine V.10, no.1 (1926).

> to sacrifice my business to my opinions. If you assure him on this point he would be satisfied I intend to make first class Republican paper and have abundant means to do it.
>
> M. J. Dee[35]

Dee, perhaps for the sake of gaining control of the newspaper, suggested to McMillan that there was a business logic in his keeping the Tribune faithful to the G.O.P. This logic was due neither to Republican ownership nor Republican payoffs. It came from the party preferences of the Tribune's subscribers. Further, Dee exclaimed that he was not about to sacrifice his economic well-being to maintain his political integrity. And, in fact, the Tribune, after its shift in ownership, diligently advocated Republican candidates and positions. One evidence of the Tribune's continued Republican partisanship is the criticism by other Detroit papers; they were quick to note Dee and Scripps' lack of political integrity, their split political personality or political schizophrenia. One example from the Democratic Free Press:

> Mr. Scripps Entangled
>
> Mr. Scripps's morning conundrum [the Tribune] bore false witness [against Democratic candidates,] it continues the charge of corruption. Meantime, the afternoon vent of Mr. Scripps' eccentricities [the News] seems to think very well of the Democratic city ticket...This is Mr. Scripps' way. If he kicks a man in the morning, he will pat that same individual on the head before sunset. If he smites a citizen hip and thigh in the afternoon, he will apply balm to his wounds at the earliest opportunity in the day following. If he preaches [the Republican policy of] high protection in the [Tribune] organette, he can be relied upon to give tariff reform a boost [in the News]...He roars honest money in the still watches of the night and howls free silver in the daytime. This is an infirmity

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[35] Telegram, January 15, 1891 from Michael Dee to Sen. James McMillan (Senator James McMillan Business Papers, Burton Historical Archives, Detroit Public Library.) And cf. the Free Press Jan. 19, 1891 p.5.

> with Mr. Scripps. He cannot help it. Consistency was omitted in his make-up. It is a misfortune because it leaves his utterances without the force of sincerity...[36]

While the shift in Tribune ownership appeared to the Democratic Free Press as an opportunity for political propaganda and jeering, to the Republican Journal it was an economic opportunity. The cheap, evening Journal is characterized by three of my main points. It represents invested political capital of an individual or group of individuals pursuing political office. In addition, it expressed the views of a political faction of the Republican party--in the 1890s the reform Governor Hazel Pingree wing against Senator McMillan and his allies who controlled the party organization and were backed by various large corporate interests. Lastly, the Journal competed with the Tribune for the same partisan market share, thus pressuring the Tribune to retain its circulation by heightening its appeal to Republican readers. For example, early in 1891, with the Tribune now of doubtful loyalty to the Republican party after its sale to Scripps, the Journal espied its chance to be the leading Republican periodical in the state. In a public announcement the Journal's editor Brearley reasserted the partisan loyalties of the paper. Henceforth the Journal would not hide its explicit affiliation with the Republicans.[37] And, regularly in the early '90s it proclaimed in a slogan on its editorial page "Larger Circulation than any other Republican Paper in Michigan."[38]

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[36] Detroit Free Press, October 15, 1892. And see similar attacks in the Journal January 26, 1892

[37] Detroit Journal, October 14, 1908, pp.8-9 "Birth and Early Years of the Detroit Journal."

[38] See Detroit Journal February 21, 1894.

In any case, Scripps' Tribune trudged along the partisan path till 1896, a year of political upheaval for the two parties. In that year William Jennings Bryan captured the Democrats' presidential nomination for a diluted form of radical populism against the wishes of the party elite, "the Gold Democrats." In Detroit, like the rest of the nation, party leaders, voters and newspapers deserted the party in droves.[39] And, the Democrats would become the substantially weaker party until the party realignment in 1932 and Franklin D. Roosevelt's election.

While the Free Press and its publisher Quinby quit the Democrats for McKinley and the Republicans[40], Scripps took the News and the Tribune into the populist camp. The consequent turmoil at the Tribune provides one last example of the market pressures on a newspaper--incentives to report news with a partisan bias in order to retain the approval and subscriptions of Republican readers. Secondly, it suggests one partial hypothesis for the ending of the conditions and props that support press partisanship in the U.S. which this essay has indicated; the segmentation of the newspaper reader market by the long-time, strongly-felt loyalties of voters and readers to one party or the other is disrupted and ended by the massive shifts in voter allegiance in 1894-96 and, indeed, by the fall in voter turnout 1896-1924.[41] But this takes us beyond the boundaries of my paper's topic.

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[39] On the nation's papers leaving the Democratic party in 1896 see Jensen, op. cit., pp.272-275 and also David Sarasohn, The Party of Reform: Democrats in the Progressive Era (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1989) pp. 10-11.

On national politics, party realignment and voting changes see Walter Dean Burnham, The Current Crisis of American Politics, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982) ch. 1-4.

On Michigan politics in 1896 see Philip VanderMeer, "Political Crisis and Third Parties: The Gold Democrats of Michigan" Michigan Historical Review V.15, no.2 (1989) and pages 69-70 on newspapers.

[40] See the Free Press' "Declaration of Independence" from the Democratic party, July 12, 1896, p.12.

The Tribune's left-turn to the Democrats in 1896 restored "political integrity" to Scripps. He had for years attacked monopolies, the tariff and political corruption. Now he could speak again with his "true" voice in signed editorials in the Tribune.[42] Of course, this change did not go unnoticed and protests by leading Republicans ensued. General Russell Alger, a long-time power in the state party, wrote to Scripps and the Tribune pleading for a return to the Republican ranks.

> The Tribune has long been the leading Republican organ of the state and while you own its title and are paying its bills, still in a sense it is the property of the organization that has made the country great. It seems to me, it is your duty to permit it to heartily support both the ticket and platform. Can you not assure the Republicans of the state that, no matter what your views may be, the Tribune shall support the party heartily?[43]

Scripps for his part tried to move the Republican party in his direction and to conceal the break. He published articles implying that Michigan Republicans did not endorse the party's national platform of a "gold standard" for the currency. So the headlines of a page one story read: "STIRRED UP!" "Republicans in Michigan Don't Like Gold," "GIVE THEIR OPINION," "Majority of Them Favor the Platform of 1892," "WAS A GOOD THING," "The Tribune's Stand is Indorsed By Many Republicans."[44] Similarly, letters from readers were printed to demonstrate popular Republican support for the *Tribune's* pro-silver, anti-gold position.[45] The *Journal* and other Republican papers around the state would have none of the *Tribune's* tricks and angrily wrote Scripps and the *Tribune* out of the Michigan Republican party.[46]

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[41] Burnham, op. cit. A second important change is the political reforms of the Progressive Era.

[42] Signed editorials--e.g. The Tribune June 12, 1896 p.2.

[43] Published June 22, 1896 in the Tribune, p.2 with a reply by Scripps.

[44] Detroit Tribune, June 22, 1896 p.1. and June 23, p.1.

In conclusion, this essay examined the market interaction of all the English dailies in the market environment of the Detroit metropolitan area from 1865 to 1900. Its central thesis suggested that such a focus on the ecological context--on the competitive situation confronting the papers--would help explain the individual newspaper's editorial content, its marketing strategy, and its political stance. From this research viewpoint I determined that Detroit's journals split the set of available newspaper readers into segments partially based on political preferences. The newspapers differentiated themselves on the basis of partisan appeals. Further, the audiences and party elites developed expectations about the appropriately partisan bias to the news and editorials of their papers. These expectations, I claimed, were enforced, on the one hand, by boycott threats of readers and politicians and, on the other hand, by the risk that a rival partisan newspaper would capture one's market share of subscribers. A second thesis proposed that "political capital," investment in newspapers for political reasons and by political factions, helped to perpetuate a competitive market environment for partisan papers. This resulted in continual pressure on partisan newspapers not to follow a "generalist" marketing strategy of an undifferentiated, politically neutral market appeal but, instead, to pursue a specialized, partisan one.

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[45] Cf.*Detroit Tribune*, June 23, 1896 pp. 1-2, and June 25, p.1.

[46] The *Journal* reprints the comments of condemnation by various state newspapers on "The Tribune's Bolt" July 1, 1896 p.4. And it refutes the *Tribunes* claims that Michigan's Republicans have pro-silver currency views, July 3, p.1.

Arthur Pound says that the "...*Tribune* never quite recovered from its advocacy of 'free silver.'...[T]here clung to it the fatal odor of radicalism in a state turning from agrarian economics towards policies more in tune with its high future in manufacturing." Arthur Pound, *The Only Thing Worth Finding: The Life and Legacies of George Gough Booth* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1964) p.146.

Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson: Case Study Of One of "Murrow's Boys"

This paper describes and analyzes the career of Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson, a photojournalist who was one of the first broadcasters on Edward R. Murrow's team of European radio correspondents in the tense period before U.S. involvement in World War II. It concludes that she accepted the conventions restricting women of her day even as she enlarged them through the example of her own stellar performance on the CBS radio network.

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Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson: Case Study of One of "Murrow's Boys"

Edward R. Murrow, hailed as the single most famous figure in the history of news broadcasting, initially achieved recognition for his reports from Europe in the tense pre-World War II period when he put together the first team of overseas radio correspondents for a United States network. Today the team still is referred to as the "Murrow Boys" in books on mass communications history.[1] What has been overlooked is the career of one of the team's first members - a woman, Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson, who made about 50 broadcasts for the "World News Roundup" of the Columbia Broadcasting System in 1939 and 1940. Making use of a new shortwave transmitter, the news "roundup" featured correspondents giving live reports from crisis points in Europe.[2] As one of the "Murrow Boys," Breckinridge (who became Patterson after her marriage to Jefferson Patterson in 1940) broadcast from seven countries in Europe about events on both sides during the critical years prior to United States involvement in the war.[3] Her reports, which received praise from Murrow and CBS executives, emphasized the human dimension of the turmoil in Western Europe.[4]

It is the purpose of this paper to describe and analyze Breckingridge's career as a radio broadcaster in an effort to fill in a forgotten chapter in broadcasting history. Much of the information comes from the personal files of Patterson, who at the age of 85 lives in a mansion in Washington, D.C., where she has collected a volumnious amount of material pertaining to herself and her family. Her papers, along with those of her husband, are slated to be transferred shortly to the Library of Congress. Although relatively brief, Patterson's broadcasting career merits attention because of several factors: (1) It sheds light on the barriers facing women broadcasters in the late 1930s as well as showing that it was possible for a woman to succeed as a radio commentator; (2) It offers a glimpse of the way in which a youthful Edward R. Murrow interacted with rich and powerful friends; (3) It provides a fascinating look at the options and obstacles confronting a wealthy young woman who wanted to prove her personal competence within the parameters of the social conventions of her class. "I am not a feminist," Patterson is quick to tell visitors who ask about her career.[5] Yet her varied attainments - as photojournalist and film maker as well as news commentator - illustrate her desire to develop herself intellectually and compete in a man's world even though she had no financial need.

Since Patterson's broadcasting career can be understood only by setting it within the context of her entire life, biographical information will be presented first. The paper next will describe her relationship with Murrow and explain how she became a radio commentator. A third section will analyze her broadcasts, making use of the scripts that she has carefully saved through the years. The conclusion will summarize the significance of her broadcasting career in part by noting the extensive attention she received in the press when she left CBS to be married. The paper contends that her career was far more than a casual circumstance but the product of an interrelationship between class, gender and individual ability that makes it worthy of study by communications historians.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson was born on Oct. 2, 1905 in New York City, the daughter of John Cabell Breckinridge, a lawyer whose forebearers included John Cabell Breckinridge, vice-president of the United States under James Buchanan, Her mother, Isabella Goodrich Breckinridge, was heiress to the Goodrich tire fortune.[6] In common with other young women of her class, she was educated at various private schools in New York, California and France before receiving a high school diploma from Milton Academy, Milton, Massachusetts in 1923. She then attended Vassar College where she received a bachelor's degree in modern history and languages in 1927.[7] While at Vassar, Breckinridge showed an adventurous spirit - she swam across the frigid Hudson River to the horror of college authorities during her freshman year.[8] By the time she was a senior, however, she had settled down to more serious pursuits, serving as president of the National Student Federation, a group interested in furthering peace by fostering contacts between students nationally and internationally. To assist her endeavors with the federation, which Breckinridge helped found, her mother paid for her to hire a secretary at Vassar.[9]

After graduation pursued a career as a photographer and film maker in part to fulfill a request from a cousin, Mary Breckinridge, who was head of the Frontier Nursing Service. This organization sent nurses on horseback to isolated areas of Kentucky to deliver babies and provide medical care for mothers and children. Following study at the New School for Social Research in New York, where Mary Marvin Breckinridge received a diploma in politics and literature in 1928, she rode 600 miles on horseback through Leslie County, Kentucky, and other isolated areas of Appalachia. Managing to take along bulky film equipment, she recorded the activities of the nurses as her cousin desired. The result: A 28-minute film, produced in 1930, titled "The Forgotten Frontier." Considered a classic documentary, the film still is shown during exhibitions of work by women film makers.[10]

From 1930 to 1932 Breckinridge worked as a secretary for the Democratic National Committee in Washington, DC., (although she later became a stauch Republican). She left that job to accompany a close friend, Olivia Stokes, and her parents on a 1932 trip from Cape Town to Cairo, taking thousands of pictures that helped launch Breckinridge into a career as a photojournalist.[11] Although she returned to Washington to work as a secretary for Isabella Greenway, a Democratic Congresswoman from Arizona, in 1934-35, she decided to concentrate on photography. Moving to New York, she received a diploma from the Clarence White School of Photography in 1936 and spent the next three years as a photographer and photojournalist based in New York City, selling photographs, sometimes accompanied by articles, to newspapers and magazines. Her work appeared in Vogue, Harper's Bazaar, Town and Country and Life, among other periodicals.[12] It was as a photojournalist that Breckinridge decided to go to Europe in 1939 where she encountered Murrow and became a CBS correspondent.

Following her marriage in Berlin on June 20, 1940 to Jefferson Patterson, a foreign service officer, she lived abroad for 18 years, accompanying Patterson on diplomatic assignments to Peru, Belgium, Egypt, Greece and Uruguay. She continued her formal education, studying German language and culture at the University of Berlin in 1941,Spanish and Peruvian culture at the Catholic University in Lima in 1942-43 and Arabic at the American University in Cairo where she received a certificate in 1949.[13] A man of immense wealth, Patterson inherited a fortune built on the National Cash Register Company. Patterson died in 1977 and one of the couple's two children in 1985. Attended by a staff of four, Mary Marvin Breckinridge lives today in Patterson's elegant Washington home to which the couple returned in 1958 after he ended his service with the U.S. State Department. Involved in numerous civic, philantropic and cultural activities, she has donated her family home in Maine to Bowdoin College for use as a conference center and her farm in Calvert County, Maryland, to the state for a park. She has received honorary doctor of humane letters degrees from Bowdoin College, Georgetown University and the University of Kentucky.[14]

RELATIONSHIP WITH MURROW

Edward R. Murrow and Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson first met through their work in the National Student Federation. It was Murrow who succeeded Breckinridge as president of the organization and it was Breckinridge who helped Murrow, a self-made young man with a degree from Washington State University, make the contacts that proved useful to him later in his career. In 1930 Martha H. Biehle, a friend of Breckinridge and acting executive secretary of the National Student Federation, wrote Breckinridge to ask her for help in finding a place for Murrow to stay in New York City: "He is a boy who has worked his way through school and cannot afford any extra expenses," Biehle noted, asking for aid in finding "any family who have a home in N.Y.C. and have the means to be able to entertain Ed in this informal way...."[15] It was a thinly-veiled appeal. Breckinridge arranged for Murrow to stay with her parents for a brief period. When he took a job with the International Institute of Education in New York, he made occasional trips to Washington and would take Breckinridge out to lunch. As she recalled later, "He was tall and good-looking, attractive. He was never especially a beau, but we were always nice friends. He had poise and confidence and courtesy, never seemed like a country bumpkin."[16]

In the summer of 1937 Breckinridge and her parents went by ship to England for the Coronation of George VI, and were pleasantly surprised to find Murrow and his wife Janet also on board.[17] He was enroute to London for CBS to set up the first network of American correspondents to broadcast from Europe. Breckinridge and Janet Murrow became close friends - a relationship that has continued to the present.

Two years later Breckinridge found herself again traveling to Europe, this time to pursue opportunities as a photojournalist. Recalling that trip in 1952 in an outline for a book she hoped to write but did not, she noted, "As I lay in my peagreen inside cabin on 'Niew Amsterdam' in July 1939 and wept - wrote breaking off letters to three beaux - cut irksome ties - sad - to make my place in a new work... Never dreamt (in lonely exhaustion) [what lay ahead]...."[18] She had planned a six-week trip with photojournalism assignments lined up for Life and Town and Country and plans to meet her parents for a visit to cousins in England. As she put it, she was "equipped with a dressing-case, two suitcases (one full of riding and evening clothes), hatbox, typewriter and Rolliflex camera...."[19] But the war intervened and she did not come back to the United States for two years.

Breckinridge landed in France on July 15, 1939, the day that the German-Russian non-aggression pact was announced, giving Germany a green light to attack Poland. She had assignments set up to cover a music festival in Switzerland, which was cancelled, and a Nazi Party Day in Nuremburg, a job secured by Jefferson Patterson, first secretary of the American Embassy in Berlin, whom she had known slightly in Washington. When that also was cancelled, Breckinridge managed to get to England with a woman companion who arranged for them to stay at the Savoy Hotel since her uncle was on its board. Breckinridge wanted to return to the United States but decided to remain in England after her photojournalism agency, Black Star, told her there would be plenty of assignments because English photographers had been drafted and German and Austrian refugees were being treated as enemies who were not allowed to carry cameras.[20] She took pictures in an air shelter that Black Star sold to Life and carried out other assignments including an interview with photographs of Neville Chamberlain.[21]

She also looked up her old friends, Ed and Janet Murrow. As Patterson explained in 1976 to a class at Boston University:

> One evening when I was having dinner alone with Ed and Janet, he asked what I had been doing outside London, as he had two shows a day and couldn't leave. I had been doing stories on an English village preparing for war, (I had been staying with cousins in Northamptonshire), the evacuated children, and things like that. He asked if I would go on the air that Saturday night, November 18th, and tell about them, and that is how I got into broadcasting!
>
> Ed escorted me home in a taxi and said as he helped me out that he would send me a check in the morning. I did not expect a check for a one-shot like that, and had gone on the air partly because I knew that my parents in California would be pleased to hear daughter's voice (Ed had thoughtfully told CBS in New York to telephone them, so that they wouldn't miss the show).[22]

No check came, but she was not concerned about payment. Instead, she got messages to call Murrow back. "When I did call back, he asked if I would spend the night shift in a Fire House in the City of London where they had recently recruited women to man (or woman?) the telephones and do other light work to free the men for firefighting..." she recalled to the students.[23] He told her to emphasize the "human story," but did not tell her until later "that he had all the vice presidents of CBS listening in to see what they thought of me."[24] Subsequently Breckinridge proposed to Murrow that he send her to Ireland to do a story on Irish neutrality (and also see friends and ride). He agreed and asked if she would like to go on the CBS staff in Europe after Christmas if the Irish story "went well."[25] Breckinridge immediately said yes, because, she told the students, "I liked that kind of work, whose only tools are pencil and paper (and a portable typewriter)rather than lugging around cameras, films,flash, and contriving to have films developed or spending a lot of time developing and printing in a lab rented by the hour."[26]

In Ireland she had a run-in with a censor, who objected to a comment there were more of his countrymen in the British than in the Irish army, so she reluctantly omitted this detail. She also encountered timing problems since the clock in the Dublin studio was 11 minutes off. Yet her broadcast went well and Murrow sent word immediately for her to come back to London for assignment to Sweden. When she got back, however, he decided to station her in Holland. He asked her what she wanted for her salary and she said "too little," so she told the students.[27] (Today Patterson says she does not recall what she was paid , although she remembers a generous expense account.)[28]

Murrow gave her few directions: "...to give the human side of the war, to be neutral, to be honest, to talk like myself, a typical American," she said in her speech at Boston University.[29] According to her, Murrow had known "me long enough to know what I was like," so there seemed little need for extensive directions.[30] Aside from the broadcast on women in the fire house, Murrow never made a direct assignment.[31] The rest of her broadcasts were based on her own ideas.

Although Murrow told her to keep her voice low, which was not difficult for Breckinridge because she had an unusually low pitch for a woman, there was no question of her posing as a man, Patterson said, as Murrow's last biographer intimated. According to Joseph E. Persico, author of Edward R. Murrow: An American Original, Murrow told Breckinridge to "speak low and make sure that she stuck to the name Marvin."[32] Patterson, on the other hand, remembers clearly that Murrow disapproved of nicknames - such as Ed - on broadcasts and suggested that she use her full name, Mary Marvin Breckinridge, instead of just Marvin Breckinridge, when she begin broadcasting from Berlin.[33] She said that she stopped using the name Mary because of confusion with her cousin long before she started broadcasting.[34]

Murrow, of course, was well aware of the prejudices against women that infused broadcasting in this era. A study in the mid-1930s found that most listeners preferred hearing news from a man.[35] Indeed, Harry W. Flannery, who followed Breckinridge as CBS's Berlin correspondent in 1940, declared, "Columbia did not favor women on the air, especially from foreign points. That was probably because most of the listeners preferred male voices and had no confidence in women for such assignments, even though some of them...were as good reporters as any of us."[36]

By no means was Breckinridge the only women radio foreign correspondent. Sigrid Schultz, the Chicago Tribune's chief correspondent in central Europe, reported over the Mutual Radio Network in Berlin. By August 1939, she broadcast frequently for Mutual, having been offered the job after William L. Shirer, one of the correspondents who worked under Murrow, interviewed Schultz over the CBS network.[37] Murrow's wife, Janet, broadcast from London for CBS on Thanksgiving Day, 1939, and subsequently described Christmas shopping in the war-striken city.[38] In all a half-dozen women were heard over United States radio from Durope before this nation entered World War II.[39]

Although Murrow did not have an impressive record on the hiring of women - he turned down Pauline Frederick in 1946, citing a long list of women applicants and "little opportunity to use them," - he was forced to be open-minded during the war.[40] (Frederick went on to become the first woman to handle hard news on both network radio and television.)

In a letter to Breckinridge in Holland,Murrow wrote, "Your stuff so far has been first-rate. I am pleased, New York is pleased, and so far as I know the listeners are pleased. If they aren't to hell with them."[41]

At the same time Murrow reassured Breckinridge's parents that he would look after their daughter. "I shall take good care to see that Marvin is not given any particularly dangerous assignments," he wrote her mother in December, 1939.[42] After extending Christmas greetings, he expressed a desire to visit the Breckinridges at their home in Santa Barbara. "Marvin hold out the hope that I may be able to come out to California and recuperate from the nervous breakdown - which has been promised me for the last five years - when and if it comes," he wrote.[43] Instead Murrow achieved fame while Breckinridge married and left the microphone.

BRECKINRIDGE'S BROADCASTS

As a CBS correspondent, Breckinridge made three broadcasts from Amsterdam in December, 1939,and one from Luxemburg. In January, 1940, she reported four more times from Amsterdam before being sent to Berlin where she broadcast nine times. Then she journeyed to Norway where she made two reports prior to returning to Berlin for seven more broadcasts. In late March, 1940, she was reassigned to Amsterdam and made nine broadcasts there (a tenth was totally censored). Her broadcast career ended after a series of eleven reports from Paris.

Although she stumbled into broadcasting, Breckinridge found radio a congenial medium in which to work. Her voice proved a strong asset. As a child she had been trained to enunciate clearly by her mother, "who would not accept guvamjnt for government, nor jehamun for gentleman," she recalled years later.[44] She had taken speech lessons in New York during a college vacation period and later completed the Dale Carnegie course in public speaking, which, she said, provided "experience in communicating with men and women whom I might not have met in my usual social life."[45] Consequently Breckinridge had good command of her voice, important, as she put it, "first for clarity and comprehension, and especially when working through censors."[46] In her work with the National Student Federation, she had made two radio broadcasts in the United States.[47]

Breckinridge covered Europe in the period of the "phony war," a seven-month interval after Hitler invaded Poland on Sept. 1, 1939. During this time Germany and the Allies fought no important land battles even though Britain and France had declared war on Germany on Sept. 3. Germany, however, blasted England with bombing raids.. Breckinridge encountered uncomfortable conditions, as, for example, "a frigid night broadcasting from a concrete cellar in the basement of the incompleted radio station in Luxemburg [Dec. 30, 1939], my legs wrapped in a blanket and my teeth chattering so that I feared the sound would carry all the way across America."[48] Aware that her life might be in danger if a full-scale war broke out, Breckinridge left "some of my good clothes with Janet Murrow and also a yellow diamond ring that I'd inherited from my grandmother because I wanted my niece to have it if I didn't get back."[49]

She had relatively little direct contact with Ed Murrow because of the exhausting pace kept by correspondents to monitor war developments. She can recall only one time when he "had to correct me" and said that "he did it with kindness and humor" after she suppressed a cough toward the end of one of her first broadcasts from Holland.[50] "He telephoned me the next day and said gently, 'When you feel like coughing, go ahead and cough.'"[51] In January, 1940, after being in Holland for a month, she was asked to make arrangements for Murrow and William L. Shirer, stationed in Berlin, to come to Amsterdam for a joint broadcast. At the conclusion of the program, the three correspondents enjoyed a snowball fight, after which Shirer asked Murrow for vacation time to join his family in Switzerland. Murrow immediately turned to Breckinridge and asked her to cover for Shirer in Berlin, an assignment that lasted six weeks.[52]

Breckinridge was not expected to be on the air daily or to give breaking news stories. Her broadcasts, four and one-half to five minutes in length, emphasized details of daily life under wartime stresses. "Sometimes I had to scratch around for something to talk about," she recalled recently, although she said she had relatively little trouble finding topics because of her experience as a photojournalist.[53] Her initial series from Amsterdam focused on impressions of the country - "Holland cannot feel really free while a state of war exists all around her," Breckinridge began her first broadcast, proceeding to describe a nation attempting to stay neutral in the face of Hitler's threats.[54] Like Murrow, she spoke in the first person, giving first-hand reports. "The three frontiers of Holland are all fortified, as evidence that she is truly neutal in this war. I have just returned from visiting them to get a tourist's-eye view," she told listeners on her third broadcast, describing her bicyle trip from the Hague to Scheveningen on the coast, where "three old fishermen in black corduroy trousers and wooden shoes were smoking their pipes outside one of a series of pillboxes."[55] Other times she reported on the war's effect on Dutch industries, including diamond-cutting, flowers, fruits and fishing.

In Berlin broadcasting proved more difficult because of tight censorship, even though Germans "did not want America to come into the war so they were quite nice to us," she remembered.[56] She tried to outwit the censor and sometimes succeeded as when she described the official newspaper of the Nazi party. At the end of the broadcast, she said, "The motto of this paper is freedom and bread. There is still bread in Germany ."[57] The censor did not understand her meaning and cleared her copy, but Breckinridge knew that no American listener would miss the message. [58]

To deal with the censorship, Breckinridge developed a technique of saying something "favorable and true," about Germany in each story as a way of obscuring her actual point. [59] She used this approach in a story on a school for brides of select Nazi troops. She praised the school as "clean and tidy," but her focus lay in the indoctrination of the students: "To produce the perfect German woman: useful wife and mother and good Nazi." [60]

Normally Breckinridge dealt with three censors but when she did a broadcast on Frau Scholz-Klink, the Fuhrerin, or leader, of organized Germany womanhood for the Nazi party, her copy had to clear a fourth censor also.[61] Breckinridge attempted to damn Scholz-Klink by repeating her utterances and ended with a quote that the goal for Germany women should be "to replace the thesis of a nationless humanity with an ardent belief in ourselves."[62] For the most part, Breckinridge, however, did not limit herself to topics of special interest to women.

One memorable broadcast took place Feb. 19, 1940, from Stavanger, Norway, when Breckinridge interviewed the captain of a German ship, the Altmark, sunk by the British with the loss of six German lives. Since the ship was unarmed and the attack took place in neutral waters, the incident prompted some sympathy for the Germans.[63] Occasionally she led off a broadcast with a news item. For example, she reported on Feb. 6, 1940, "The Four-Year Plan is being extended to include the occupied territory of Poland," an item that went on to explain that Germany was taking control of Poland's iron and steel.[64] It was a preface to a feature on the winter in Berlin, which included a note that this was thought to be the first time in 600 years that Baltic Sea from Latvia to Sweden was frozen over.[65]

The extraordinary cold during the winter of 1940 added to Breckinridge's travails as a correspondent. In Berlin she had to take her copy for censorship to the state broadcasting offices in Adolf Hitlerplatz. Then, she recalled:

> I would take two copies out the back door into the blackout, down a steep, slippery, icy path, past a guard with a police dog, into a shed where there were several small cubicles. There, I sat at one desk and a technician sat at another with a copy of my script and his finger on a button to cut me off if I departed from it in any way. That is where I saw my first tape, as he also tape-recorded every word I said.[66]

Breckinridge's worse experience with censorship came, however, when she returned to Amsterdam and gained an interview with the Dutch Nazi Mussert, who insisted that his aide approve the script. When Breckinridge showed it to the government censor, she was shocked to find that he "firmly and definitely forbade me to give any of it."[67] After taking it to a friend in the foreign office, she was encouraged to give it in a slightly different form. The broadcast contained a memorable quote from Mussert that made headlines in leading Dutch newspapers and raised questions in the parliament. It was, "sit like this" [with folded arms], Mussert's response when Breckinridge asked him what he would do if Germany should invade the Netherlands.[68]

At her regular post in Amsterdam, Breckinridge became part of a group of western journalists who met regularly in a hotel bar, which they called the "Brooding Corner,"preparing themselves for the German invasion that seemed imminent.[69] Murrow wrote to praise her work and suggest she continue to swap information with newspaper reporters. "Incidentally, everyone over there in New York is delighted with the stuff you've been doing, and the Altmark interview was first class," he told her.[70] "It is often necessary, and wise, to trade a bit of information with journalists," he advised.[71] He also mentioned a change of assignment, noting, "Where You Go From Where You Are I don't know," although he said "it looks like Scandinavia."[72] A study of Breckinridge's scripts shows that she heeded Murrow's words - local newspapers are cited frequently. For example, her broadcast of April 4, 1940, began, "Thirty-six Dutch boats are now detained in the Downs off England, according to figures published this morning, and the English are planning to intensify the blockade in the North Sea next week."[73]

While she was in Amsterdam, Jefferson Patterson, whom she had seen frequently while she was in Berlin, came to visit and make a special purchase - an engagement ring to slip on Breckinridge's finger.[74] The couple made plans to marry as soon as possible. Breckinridge telephoned the news to Murrow but had to speak in a kind of code because "we knew there were censors listening in," she recalled.[75] She said, "By the way, I'm following Tom's example," and Murrow replied, "Wheee!"[76] He understood the message because it referred to Eric Sevareid's assistant in Paris who had just gotten married without giving CBS notice.[77] Breckinridge also told Murrow that she was planning "an all-American affair" because she did not want him to think she was marrying a Nazi.[78] She wanted to give him plenty of time to find a replacement,but she did not want to make the engagement public because "people in Holland and France would have been very apprehensive and wary of me if they knew that I was planning to go back to live in Germany."[79] She did not

Murrow again until after World War II ended.[80]

CBS soon sent another correspondent to Amsterdam and Breckinridge left for Paris on the last train out before the long-feared German invasion of Belgium and the Netherlands that began May 10, 1940.[81] In Paris she assisted Eric Sevareid and Tom Grandin, who were trying to get their families out on the last United States ship to leave France before fighting began in earnest. In CBS broadcasts she detailed the plight of European refugees flocking to Paris . On May 28, 1940, she gave the ominous news of the fall of Belgium:

> There is important news today: The Premier of France, Monsieur Paul Reynaud, made a speech on the radio at eight thirty Paris time. In it he announced that France could no longer count on the support of the Belgian Army since four o'clock this morning. The Belgian decision was made by King Leopold himself, without consulting either the French or British Governments; and it was taken against the unanimous wishes of his responsible ministers,as announced by the Belgian Government representatives in Paris.[82]

On June 5, 1940, she gave her last broadcast, a first-hand report of a visit to a French farming village to describe the impact of war on family life there.[83] Then she set off by train through Italy for Berlin. Her wedding took place at the U.S. Embassy there on June 20, less than three weeks later.[84] She left Paris when she heard that the French government was leaving the capital. Breckinridge feared that she would be unable to return to Berlin unless she departed immediately.[85]

SIGNIFICANCE OF BROADCASTING CAREER

The importance of Breckinridge's broadcasting career transcends its length. According to two broadcast historians, Breckinridge "might well have become the most prominent broadcast newswoman of the 1940s if she had continued her career in broadcasting."[86] Unlike Betty Wason, who reported for CBS from Stockholm in 1940, Breckinridge had a strong delivery that made her credible to listeners. By contrast, Wason in May 1940 was told by CBS to find a man to broadcast for her on grounds her voice was too young and feminine for war news. She located a man, Winston Burdette, whose subsequent career with CBS lasted four decades.[87] Wason herself was heard again on CBS in November, 1940, when she reported war news from Greece but again network executives insisted she find a man to broadcast for her.[88]

Breckinridge, however, was asked to stay on both by CBS and by Shirer,[89] Murrow himself apparently did not, giving no response to the news of her engagement except the "Wheee " over the telephone, she recalls.[90] It was the U.S. State Department that insisted she stop, contending that as the wife of a diplomat she could not hold a job that might cause political difficulties, even if she used her maiden name.[91]

By her competence Breckinridge had shown that a woman could succeed as a foreign correspondent. The World News Roundup program reached some 22 million listeners in the United States (it could not be heard in Europe). Her preparation for broadcasting, although not undertaken with a career in mind, had been extensive: Knowledge of foreign languages and modern history, travel experience, publication of magazine articles, social and political contacts, and skill in dealing with people. Although luck played a part in her being hired by Murrow, it certainly did not account for her success.

Perhaps Breckinridge did help pave the way for other women in broadcasting. At the same time she reported in Amsterdam, NBC hired a woman, Margaret Rupli, to broadcast there.[92] At the time Breckinridge moved to Paris, NBC employed a woman, Helen Hiett, for its bureau there.[93] But decades passed before networks shed their prejudices against women correspondents.

In a very real sense the network attitude toward women was reflected in CBS's publicizing of Breckinridge's engagement. En route to Berlin for her wedding, she cabled a resignation to CBS: "Farewell Columbia. Have enjoyed working with you. Now leave gladly to marry Jefferson Patterson, first secretary of the American embassy in Berlin. Announcement publishable June 12. Columbia gets credit for engagement for making winter meeting Berlin."[94] As she must have expected, CBS's publicity department promoted the event widely, just as it had promoted her previously as a socialite who "snubbed debutante pleasures to poke a camera at life in all parts of the world before abandoning a brilliant lens career to become a European war correspondent for CBS."[95] Now it churned out releases quoting her cable.

As a result news of the engagement appeared in radio columns across the country, popular features of newspapers of the day. Headlines reflected the bias against women commonly found: "Girl Reporter for CBS Weds U.S. Diplomat," "Diplomat at Berlin, Girl Correspondent Are To Be Married," were typical.[96] "Flees France to Wed U.S. Attache in Reich" blared another over a story referring to Breckinridge as a "New York and California society girl photographer and broadcaster."[97] Newspapers ran pictures of a smiling Breckinridge furnished by CBS. Radio gossip columnists played up the story: "Love in War: The shot and shell may terrify the world, but Dan Cupid's unerring arrow still hits the mark - even in wartorn Europe," began an Indiana column.[98] Clearly the network and much of the press pictured Breckinridge mainly in terms of romantic appeal.

Yet three days before her marriage Breckinridge was mentioned as a member of "the most ingenious, best-organized radio newsgathering agency in Europe" in Time magazine, which apparently overlooked news of her forthcoming wedding.[99] It referred to Breckinridge as having "graduated into radio newscasting via Vassar and photography."[100] She was listed as a full-time CBS correspondent under Murrow along with William L. Shirer, Eric Sevareid, Larry Leseur, Edwin Hartrich and Thomas Grandin.[101]

In notes for a book she never wrote, Patterson reflected on her career, noting she liked the job because of it brought "adventure, quest for truth, contacts with people, independence, self-reliance."[102] Indeed, she noted, "I liked it more than any job I ever had, with diplomacy second " (a comment on the fact that she felt she had been a full partner with her husband in his diplomatic assignments).[103] Today Patterson bluntly states she would have kept on if she had not married. "The State Department didn't like it [broadcasting] at all," she said.[104] "I didn't want to kill his [Jefferson Patterson's] career because I wanted to show off what I could do."[105]

Her words stand as a commentary on her times, a testimony to the choices confronting women in the middle decades of the twentieth century. They also reflect the viewpoint of a woman who accepted the conventions of her day even as she enlarged them through the example of her own performance. A woman of privilege, she still was not free to follow her own pursuits in a world that assigned all women to a subordinate role.

Notes

[1] Wm. David Sloan and James G. Stovall, eds., The Media In America: A History (Worthington, OH.: Publishing Horizons, 1989), p. 316.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Revised biographical sketch of Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson prepared for Cyclopedia of American Biography, Vol. N-63, personal papers of Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson located in the Patterson home, Washington, DC., hereafter referred to as MMBPP, WDC., p. 1.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Personal interview by the author of this paper with Patterson at her home in Washington, DC., Feb. 14, 1991.

[6] Biographical sketch prepared for Cyclopedia of American Biography, MMBPP, WDC., p. 1.

[7] Personal Data Form, Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson, General Catalogue of Bowdoin College, July 12, 1976, Reel 15, Microfilm Edition, Edward R. Murrow Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Wash., DC., hereafter referred to as ERMP, LCWDC.

[8] Personal interview by the author of this paper with Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson at her home in Wash., DC., Feb. 28, 1991.

[9] Ibid.

[10] The film was shown March 9, 1991, for example, at the Kennedy Center in Wash., DC., as part of a two-day festival of women's films.

[11] See Olivia Stokes Hatch, Olivia's African Diary - Cape Town to Cairo, 1932 (privately printed, 1979).

[12] Biographical sketch prepared for Cyclopedia of American Biography, MMBPP, WDC., p. 2.

[13] Personal Data Form, Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson, Reel 15, ERMP, LCWDC.

[14] Biographical sketch prepared for Cyclopedia of **American Biography**, MMBPP, WDC., p. 3.

[15] Martha H. Biehle to Marvin Breckinridge, June 14, 1930, Reel 15, ERMP, LCWDC.

[16] As quoted in A. M. Sperber, Murrow: His Life and Times (New York Freundlich Books, 1986), p. 39.

[17] Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson, "Broadcasting from Europe to America," text of speech given at the School of Journalism, Boston University, Dec. 1, 1976, Reel 15, ERMP, LCWDC., p.3.

[18] Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson, notes for a book never completed, 1952, Reel 15, ERMP, LCWDC., p. 1.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Patterson, "Broadcasting from Europe to America," ERMP, LCWDC., p. 3.

[21] Ibid., p. 4.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., p. 5.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., p. 6.

[28] Personal interview, Feb. 14, 1991.

[29] Patterson, "Broadcasting from Europe to America," ERMP, LCWDC., p. 6.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[32] Joseph E. Persico, Edward R. Murrow: An American Original (New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing, 1988), p. 158.

[33] Patterson, "Broadcasting from Europe to America," ERMP, LCWDC., pp. 6-7.

[34] Personal interview, Feb. 14, 1991.

[35] David H. Hosley and Gayle K. Yamada, Hard News: Women in Broadcast Journalism (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1987), p. 21.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., p. 6.

[38] Ibid., p. 7.

[39] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[40] Marion Marzolf, Up from the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists (New York: Hastings House, 1977), p. 159.

[41] Ed [Murrow] to Marvin [Breckinridge], Dec. 18, 1939, Reel 15, ERMP, LCWDC.

[42] Ed Murrow to Mrs. John C. Brekinridge, Dec. 18, 1939, MMBPPP, WDC.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Patterson, "Broadcasting from Europe to America," ERMP, LCWDC., p. 8.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Personal interview, Feb. 14, 1991.

[48] Patterson, notes for a book never completed, ERMP, LCWDC, p. 5.

[49] Personal interview, Feb. 14, 1991.

[50] Patterson, "Broadcasting from Europe to America," ERMP, LDWDC., p. 7.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Personal interview, Feb. 14, 1991.

[53] Personal interview, Feb. 28, 1991.

[54] Final draft of Radio Talk by Marvin Breckinridge, Dec. 10, 1939, MMBPP, WDC., p. 1.

[55] Script of "Holland's Frontiers" given by Marvin Breckinridge, Dec. 21, 1939, MMBPP, WDC., p. 1.

[56] Personal interview, Feb. 14, 1991.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Patterson, "Broadcasting from Europe to America," ERMP, LCWDC., p. 9.

[60] Script of "The Brides' School" given by Marvin Breckinridge, Feb. 15, 1940, MMBPP, WDC., p. 1.

[61] Patterson, "Broadcasting from Europe to America," ERMP, LCWDC., p. 9.

[62] Script of "The Fuhrerin" given by Marvin Breckinridge, March 3, 1940, MMBPP, WDC., p. 3.

[63] Script of "Funeral and Interview with Captain Dau of Altmark" given by Marvin Breckinridge, Feb. 19, 1940, MMBPP, WDC., p. 2.

[64] Script of broadcast given by Marvin Breckinridge, Feb. 6, 1940, MMBPP, WDC., p. 1.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Patterson, "Broadcasting from Europe to America," ERMP, LCWDC., pp. 9-10.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Script of "Dutch Nazis" given by Marvin Breckinridge, April 28, 1940, MMBPP, WDC., p. 3.

[69] Patterson, "Broadcasting from Europe to America," ERMP, LCWDC., p. 13.

[70] Ed Murrow to Marvin Breckinridge, April 9, 1940, Reel 15, ERMP, LCWDC.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Script of "Contraband" given by Marvin Breckinridge, April 4, 1940, MMBPP, WDC., p. 1.

[74] Personal interview, Feb. 14, 1991.

[75] Patterson, "Broadcasting from Europe to America," ERMP, LCWDC., p. 13.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Script of "News from Paris"given by Marvin Breckinridge, May 28, 1940, MMBPP, WDC., p. 1.

[83] Script of "Village at War" given by Marvin Breckinridge, June 5, 1940, MMBPP, WDC., p. 1.

[84] Personal interview, Feb. 14, 1991.

[85] Patterson, "Broadcasting from Europe to America," ERMP, LCWDC., p. 13.

[86] Hosley and Yamada, Hard News, p. 11.

[87] Ibid., p. 19.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Patterson, "Broadcasting from Europe to America," pp. 13-14.

[90] Personal interview, Feb. 14, 1991.

[91] Patterson, "Broadcasting from Europe to America," p. 14.

[92] Hosley and Yamada, Hard News, pp. 11-13.

[93] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[94] Ibid., p. 11.

[95] See cutlines under publicity pictures of Marvin Breckinridge, Breckinridge scrapbook, MMBPP, WDC.

[96] Clippings, "Girl Reporter For CBS Weds U.S. Diplomat,"(Harrisburgh, PA) Telegraph, June 15, 1940, and "Diplomat At Berlin, Girl Correspondent Are To Be Married," Springfield (MO) News, June 13, 1940, Breckinridge scrapbook, MMBPP, WDC.

[97] Clipping, "Flees France to Wed U.S. Attache in Reich," (New York) Sunday News, June 23, 1940, Breckinridge scrapbook, MMBPP, WDC.

[98] Clipping, Bill Kiley, "Air Notes and Anecdotes," (Greenfield, IN) Reporter, June 19, 1940, Breckinridge scrapbook, MMBPP, WDC.

[99] "War Babies," Time, June 17, 1940.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Patterson, notes for a book never completed, ERMP, LDWDC., p. 7.

103
Ibid.

104
Personal interview, Feb. 28, 1991.

105
Ibid.

TWO RELIGIOUS MAGAZINES REPORT ON SOUTH'S FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

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for presentation
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TWO RELIGIOUS MAGAZINES REPORT ON SOUTH'S FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

In December 1956 an editorial in The Commonweal magazine said: "When the time comes to write the history of desegregation in this century, high on the list of memorable names will be Montgomery, Alabama, and very likely Clinton, Tennessee." 1

The observation is accurate, although today Clinton is forgotten in most chronologies of the Civil Rights of the 1950s movement in the South. It should be listed first, along with the Montgomery bus boycott, which happened at about the same time. Certainly few today remember Clinton today compared to Montgomery, Birmingham, Little Rock, Selma, and other places where demonstrations and violence occurred AFTER the Clinton crises. Yet there are lessons not learned from Clinton, as two religious magazines at the time pointed out repeatedly.

The statement from The Commonweal demonstrates that editors of major religious magazines were not only following the Civil Rights struggle from the beginning, but also were carefully considering efforts toward reform from the moral as well as law and order viewpoints. Coverage of Civil Rights problems by this magazine and Christian Century actually began long before the Supreme Court ruling in Brown v. Board of Education May 17, 1954.

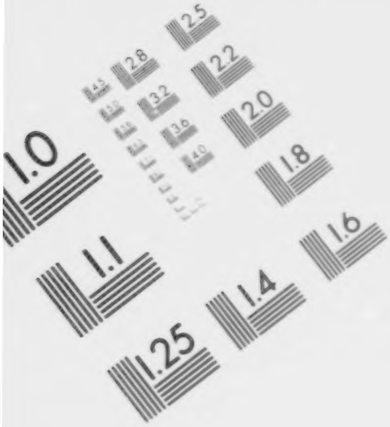
In covering events surrounding the desegregation of the high school in Clinton, Tennessee in September 1956, however, neither magazine went so far as to include black voices unless they were as prominent as that of Dr. Martin Luther King.

This event preceded what happened in Little Rock, Arkansas, by a full year. The two magazines also covered the crises that followed in Clinton in 1957 and 1958, as well as the violence occurring in the rest of the country. Both magazines also spoke out on moral grounds after Clinton High School was dynamited in 1958.

Founded in 1908 by Charles Clayton Morrison as an undenominational journal of religion, The Christian Century is still widely known as a prestigious liberal magazine. Recognized for its objective views, it reviews from an ecumentical stance issues that deal with public affairs, religion, literature and the arts.

The Commonweal was founded in 1924 as a Catholic weekly review of public affairs, literature and the arts from a liberal point of view when events are secular and conservative when they are religios, i.e., "This magazine believes in freedom of conscience, but not . . . that all religions are equally good or bad." A September 1957 statement of the magazine's purpose continued, "We stand for civil rights and for civil liberties, for social justice and racial equality, for international cooperation, for the rights of conscience and the utmost freedom under law." [2]

The comparison of the two magazines is significant, since The Commonweal might be expected to follow the more absolutist views of a church with a large membership, whereas it is not surprising that editors of an avowed "undenominational" magazine would present a



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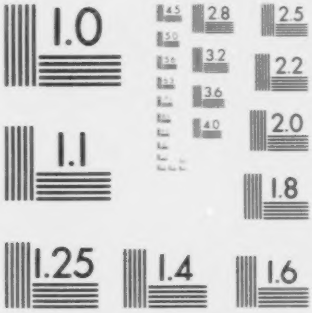
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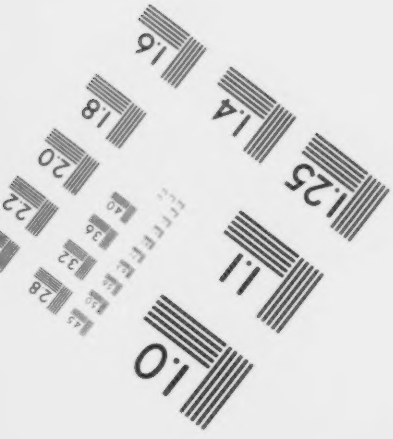

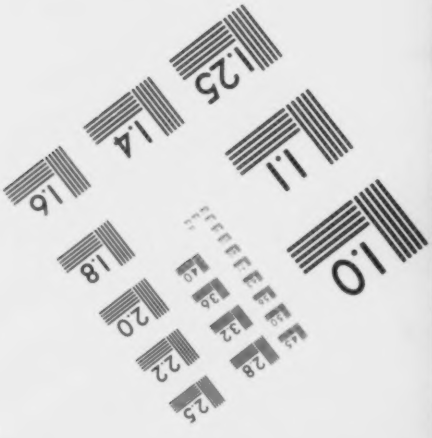

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liberal voice. The comparison is particularly significant because of the similarity of their coverage in early Civil Rights cases. Editors were obviously keeping watch on all Southern hot spots where promises and more promises to desegregate were made after the Brown v. Board of Education decision in May 1954, and especially upon Clinton since it was the first place in the South to follow through.

Aside from those on federal reservations and military installations Clinton High School was the first all-white Southern public school to admit black students on any kind of an equal basis. Although desegregation too place in early September 1956, a year before the Little Rock crisis, it was not without some of the same difficulty. The National Guard was called in both cases; in Clinton the Guard's purpose was to keep the high school open on a desegregated basis, but in Little Rock it was to keep black students out even if that meant closing the school. Tennessee Governor Frank G. Clement risked his political future to order the Guard in to prevent anyone's being hurt or killed in Clinton. In September 1957, Arkansas Governor Orville Faubus appealed to majority opinion concerning states' rights to order the Guard to Little Rock for the opposite purpose. Faubus instructed the Guard to "maintain order by preventing Negro students from entering the school." 3

Schools on military bases and federal reservations such as Oak Ridge, Tennessee, significant because of its proximity to Clinton, were ordered desegregated in 1955 during the Eisenhower administration, a year after the Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education.

While the two religious magazines' coverage of events in Clinton was not detailed week to week or month to month, the way it was in newspapers and some secular news and commentary magazines, the highlights were presented consistently and concisely with a pro-desegregation stance on moral, not just law and order grounds. Editors and writers did not ignore the subject nor dodge the issue of the innate inhumanity of the historically segregated system as did many denominational religious magazines.

This paper is intended to be a case study of the moral editorial stance taken by these magazines both indirectly in news columns and directly in editorials. Another purpose is to contrast, with both primary and secondary research, how one denominational publication failed either to inform or influence its members. All issues of both magazines were examined from 1954 through 1958.

Incidents in Clinton, Tennessee helped to trigger the long march toward Civil Rights in Southern schools. In the neighboring Anderson County scientific community of Oak Ridge, then operated under federal jurisdiction rather than as the incorporated city it later became, a move to admit blacks to previously all-white schools began even before the Supreme Court decision of 1954.

In 1953 there was an almost successful skirmish on the part of segregationist sympathizers living in Oak Ridge to impeach the chairman of the advisory Town Council, Dr. Waldo E. Cohn. A biochemist and a liberal civil rights activist, Cohn was one of three council members who pushed hard for desegregation before the Supreme Court decision, but he was the only one challenged by a recall referendum..

A different kind of racism, anti-Semitism, must have been involved because Dr. Albert S. Stewart, a black scientist and another pro-desegregation advisory Town Council member, was not named in the recall effort. Letters to the editor on both sides flooded the local newspaper, which supported Cohn. Oak Ridge's status as a Southern city versus a federal reservation was widely debated. The vote on Feb. 8, 1954 was larger by several thousand than that for any previous election of advisory Town Councilmen, but it failed to reach the necessary two-thirds required for recall. Of the total vote of 5,400, 3,300, or 62 percent, voted for Cohn's recall. Cohn subsequently resigned as chairman of the Town Council, but he retained his council seat and served the community well as tension faded.[4] Even though the Oak Ridge situation did not attract national attention and was not covered by neither *The Commonweal* nor *Christian Century*, it was important locally and regionally, and was considered a positive influence in what happened in Clinton later.

Oak Ridge schools were desegregated in 1955 by the Atomic Energy Commission under a federal order issued during the Eisenhower administration. Because segregation activists have always been afraid of the federal government, desegregation went more smoothly in these places than in Clinton when the order came.

In Clinton the struggle actually went on over a period of eight years. In 1950 the first suit was filed by black residents wishing to have their children go to high school where they lived. It became not just a local issue, but a regional and national one as well. By October 1958 desegregation had been a reality for two years, when, the school was dynamited to almost total destruction by a person or persons still unknown.

An early report in The Christian Century, just after the Tennessee National Guard was called to Clinton in 1956, recounted gains in attitude toward the immediate desegregated schools in various states that fall. The magazine reported:

> In the most spectacular case, Federal Judge Robert A. (sic) Taylor of Knoxville jailed a white citizens' council agitator [Frederick John Kasper] from Washington, D.C. for contempt of court. His "contempt" consisted of inflammatory speeches inciting the citizens of Clinton, Tennessee to riotous resistance to a court order permitting twelve Negro students to attend classes in the local high school. Meanwhile, violence continued to flair at Clinton and the national guard was moved in to maintain order. [5]

The case was spectacular because it was a first. In other places where it seemed desegregation would succeed earlier, action toward it at this early date was futile.

In a column by Rayfird Logan, The Christian Century called attention to the criticism of the NAACP and was critical of FBI action. Entitled "Is the NAACP Communistic?" the Logan column explained that "[J] Edgar Hoover has been conducting schools in the South for police officers responsible for law enforcement," and concluded that Americans who believe in Democracy should reject the idea that the NAACP is Communistic. The author called for President [Dwight D] Eisenhower and Congress "take steps to convince the South that name-calling is no excuse for flouting the law of the land." [6]

> It is imperative to note that many Southerners at first accepted the SC decision of May 17, 1954. It was not until Southern politicians comprehended the potential impact of the decision that they began to oppose it and to ring the changes on "mongrelization" and "submission" by the NAACP. [7]

In November 1956, The Christian Century reported "segregation would continue in Louisiana," 8 and the next month that "Virginia was holding fast to segregation." 9

The magazine followed Clinton's early troubles with an article about mob action that "for 10 September days Clinton, Tenn., was the subject of newspaper articles around the world." The Tennessee Supreme Court ruled unanimously that the segregation laws of the state were invalidated by the U.S. Supreme Court decision, and that an injunction to restrain demonstrations against desegregation imposed by Judge Robert L. Taylor remained in effect. The article also told of the denial of a petition to prevent desegregation by a more moderate segregationist group, the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government. 10

The September violence began after the Clinton school was apparently peacefully desegregated August 20, 1956. But as Christian Century reported, "On August 25, Frederick John Kasper, white supremacist leader from New Jersey via Washington D. C., arrived in town for a house-to-house campaign" for his viewpoint. He ignored pleas from Mayor W. E. Lewallen and other community leaders and organized a mass meeting on the Courthouse square. A few days later he was joined by Asa Carter, a states' righter and white citizens' leader from Birmingham, Ala. Because of the attention from reporters, writers, photographers and radio and television newsmen, Clinton began to be called "Trouble City, USA," the magazine reported.

> Clinton was an armed camp as the lawlessness and violence spread. It took an emergency volunteer police force organized by an Oak Ridge lawyer [Leo Grant] and veteran

of Heartbreak Ridge in Korea, to hold back screaming rioters.

Tear gas was thrown by the Home Guard, arousing more anger, when the National Guard arrived to break up the mob in the nick of time, just as it might in the movies. 11

The stance taken by religious leaders and religious periodicals was never more important than in December 1956, three months after Clinton High School opened its doors as a desegregated school. Major trouble had occurred Labor Day weekend in September 1956, the weekend following the opening. Self-styled trouble-maker and racist Frederick John Kasper was in Clinton to stir up segregationists. He succeeded in attracting a crowd that soon became a mob rocking cars coming through town and creating general havoc. Crosses were burned, speeches made, racist slogans hurled, and eggs and rocks thrown. In the fear that someone would be hurt or killed, the National Guard was called in, as explained earlier, not as in Little Rock a year later to keep the school closed to blacks, but instead to keep it open.

Following the Labor Day weekend trouble, a writer for The Commonweal noted:

> If we cannot or will not solve the problem of race, our future is in serious jeopardy . . . There is no caste here. [in the U.S.] Our Constitution is color blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens . . . .
> In the South there are laws to force the Negro into an underprivileged position. Outside the South, there are more subtle forms of discrimination.

The article noted that in some Northern cities glaring examples could be found of "man's inhumanity to man--if not in quantity, in quality--as bad as any place in the South." The author spoke strongly, not only against segregation, but also against all forms of discrimination, including anti-Semitism. 12

After the National Guard left Clinton in September, the tension remained, but classes did continue until early December. After John Kasper, the key rabble-rouser, was acquitted of conspiracy and inciting to riot by Clinton's Criminal Court in mid-November, however, divisiveness, cross-burnings and dynamitings in various neighborhoods escalated again as part of open antidesegregation activity. Kasper and his followers encouraged it.

The Christian Century reported that Frederick John Kasper, 27, "alleged white citizens council leader from Washington, D. C.," was acquitted Nov. 20, 1956 on state charges of sedition and inciting to riot. He was accused of "fanning crowds into mob violence" because of the admission of a dozen black students to Clinton High School the previous September. Kasper was declared innocent by an all-white, all-male jury after 45 minutes of deliberation. His supporters were elated. The white supremacist was freed on a $10,000 bond, awaiting appeal of the year's prison sentence for violating federal Judge Robert L. Taylor's injunction against interfering with the peaceful desegregation of the high school. 13

The magazine reported a few weeks later:

> Meanwhile opposition . . . flared into the open again yesterday. Eggs were thrown at three Negro girls and two Negro boys as they left classes after telling Prin. D. J. Brittain, Jr., that they were "tired of being molested by white students." Brittain said he asked police to patrol streets around the school to prevent further incidents. The great majority of the students, he declared, accept the Negro students, "but a small group has been subjecting the Negroes to abusive and ugly language and doing other things, such as spilling

ink on books, to intimidate them.[14]

Real violence occurred again on Dec. 4, 1956. This was the day the Rev. Paul Turner, of Clinton's First Baptist Church, along with attorney Sidney Davis, a lay member of Turner's church, and Leo Burnett, an accountant and a member of First Methodist Church, escorted nine black students to school through the lines of their tormenters. These three were among the few who took an activist moral stance, besides being for law and order on the desegregation question. Although the students entered the school safely, the Rev. Turner was attacked and beaten by seven or eight persons as he walked toward his church office. The walk and the attack on him had a mobilizing effect on the people of Clinton, not only because of the national and international attention they got through magazines and newspapers, but also because moral indignation was finally aroused among many of the town's citizens. Ironically, the walk and the attack occurred on a day of election for Mayor and other city officials. The outcome of the election was strongly influenced as the news of the beating spread quickly throughout the small community. The openly segregationist candidate lost overwhelmingly. An editorial in The Christian Century used some of the strongest, yet most hopeful, words at the time:

> There is a time for words and there is a time for deeds. Paul W. Turner . . . knows the difference between these times and has the courage to act when deeds are the order of the day. Now it seems his courage may chain-react all over the country, including the South, headlined their outrage . . . The federal government, long inactive, suddenly started proceedings against the Clinton mobsters. The Clinton School Board, which had cringingly allowed D. J. Brittain, Jr. [CHS principal] to stand unsupported, against racist chaos, came to his defense. Clinton showed its true colors on that day when it defeated for four to one citizens

> council candidates for office. Ministerial associations and councils of churches in Knoxville and other near-by places came to Turner's support. Even more important, his own congregation backed him. 15

To a question about why he was attacked and not the other two, Turner agreed with another of the three escorts, Leo Burnett, who said, "They thought I might have a gun or Sidney Davis might, but not Preacher Turner. If I had any idea that would happen I would have stayed with Preacher Turner and so would Sidney Davis." 16

Immediately after the Turner beating, the principal closed the school and black parents and friends arrived to pick up the nine minority students. Sixteen persons, including two women, were arrested for violating a federal injunction against any action to prevent the peaceful desegregation of the school. A seventeenth person was arrested but was ruled out almost immediately because he was a juvenile.

Eleanor Davis was involved in the crisis through her teaching at Clinton High School and because Sidney Davis, her attorney husband, was working on the side of desegregation. She was not only a member of Turner's church, but also a close friend. She told of her awareness of his personal struggle. "Paul and his wife grew up in a rural area near Memphis and were used to segregation. He was a strict Baptist--the kind you call 'hard shell,' and so was his wife, Jane." But he was trying to be concerned with people as people, so he was always going into the black community even before "the trouble," she related. 17

A few families in Turner's church were so opposed to his desegregation stand that they left. Several members who stayed noted that the Rev. Turner was never out around the rebellious crowds until this walk and perhaps had limited knowledge of the intensity of the antidesegregation feelings.

The Rev. Turner said it was true that he grew up with and accepted segregation. He attributed the beginning of his shift in attitude to Professor Olin T. Binkley of the Southern Baptist Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky, where he did his undergraduate work in the 1940s. He had to reevaluate the culture of West Tennessee where he grew up and Binkley helped him.

> He was the mentor of my growth process in questions of race. I didn't know we would find such turmoil at Clinton, but when it came all I learned from the experience was a resource to fall back on. All I saw of the extreme segregationists' conduct convinced me it was wrong to treat fellowmen in such ways.

The minister outlined events as they happened in the late summer and fall of 1956, and as they concerned his preaching-teaching mission. In August he spent a lot of time studying the New Testament teaching on race, and he attended a seminar in North Carolina on the problems of race relations. Then he began to lead a Bible study on race relations from the Christian viewpoint at Wednesday night services. "Thirty or forty people came. I felt no threat from that study." He admitted, however:

> I selected Sunday morning sermons with great care. I didn't want to be seen as a crusader, which I am not. I just wanted to set things right in the community and to lead our church to do the right thing as a leading institution in the community.

Although Turner was the only minister to make the walk with the black students, he said he was not the only minister in Clinton to realize that something had to be done. He told of a meeting of ministers the Friday before he made the walk, with sixteen churches and several denominations represented.

> All agreed that what was happening was destructive of the community. All agreed to speak of it on the following Sunday. The positive feelings were plain. I think the customary law of separate but equal may have had some sympathy, but mainly the feeling was that wrong was being perpetuated.

The meeting encouraged him in his own stance and in his resolve to do something actively. He felt supported since all the ministers recognized that law and order was an important issue, but they also recognized the much higher moral law. "The two were mixed. We knew the community could be marshaled if we emphasized law and order. We ministers were trying to lead the people from where they were to where they needed to be."

Of church racial relations in Clinton prior to the order issued to desegregate the school by Fall 1956 by federal Judge Robert L. Taylor in the Spring of 1955, Turner said, "Once a year two black churches, Baptist and Methodists, gave a choir program for white churches where black laymen and ministers spoke. It was a token thing, but feelings were positive and it was an annual event." He added:

> Occasionally I did attend a black Baptist church. The Rev. O. W. Willis [black minister of Mt. Sinai Baptist Church] was a friend. Oh, it was a friendship that was not cultivated much. I look back with regret about that. He took a class from me . . . my wife led a missionary group that met with the black Baptist group. This happened several years before the trouble.

Paul Turner did not see his segregationist attackers as "dregs of society," as some news publications labeled them. "They were people of our culture who believed in what they said. They were overwrought and reason did not prevail over emotion." He saw them as "sincere but wrong." He said their viewpoint showed, "We did not address ourselves to the Christian morality in our culture" [before the court-ordered desegregation of Clinton High School]. 18

One black newspaper reported that Turner said he believed it was up to the federal government to enforce the injunction against interference at the school, and that if they failed to do so, he would tell the school board to:

> go ahead and put those colored children on the bus and send them away; there's no point in obeying the federal law if no one else does. . ." He felt "Ninety percent of the citizens are solidly behind me . . . Back in September if it had happened [the beating] would have met with over-whelming sympathy [for those who did it]. But over time people have had a chance to think things over and I think this incident threw them behind law and order. 19

Paul Turner had no quarrel with reporters, either those from newspapers or magazines. He said he found them "pushy" by the nature of their work, but "when I needed to 'back them off' to preserve my own personal domain, I did, and they respected this. What they wrote was a fair representation of the events." He spoke of their general courtesy, and added, "There was no distortion in the coverage of what I did--they were nearly 100 percent accurate."

He had some strong things to say about the press of his church:

> One interesting thing was that the press of my own denomination kept "hands off." This I regret, but somewhat understand. Dr. Robert Hastings, editor of the Illinois Baptist, a state publication, last year researched how the Baptist Press handled it [the Clinton desegregation crisis] and found they would not touch it, fearing the criticism. He shamed them for lack of courage in an editorial. 20

Turner referred to an editorial entitled "It Was Too Hot For The Times," and to an article written for the Southern Baptist Historical Commission in which Hastings noted, "The John Kaspers and

Paul Turners are somehow shuttled off our pages in a desperate attempt to please and entertain, rather than stimulate and provoke." Hastings also raised the question, "What issues are we [the Baptist Press] crowding off our pages in 1979 that should be dealt with?" 21

The Hastings article written for the Baptist Historical Periodical was reprinted and it noted:

> Support for Turner was largely on a personal level. Denominational recognition of Turner was slow in coming. . . no evidence that the Baptist Press covered the story in 1956 . . . no mention of any Tennesseans who supported integration.

The article cited the Edward R. Murrow film "Clinton and the Law" for the CBS See It Now series as being responsible for acquainting many with the struggle Clinton was undergoing, and reported:

> Murrow got Turner's permission and help in this documentary, later shown on national television. According to Turner, "Murrow admitted he'd been waiting for a church to take this stance." The documentary also gave Turner an opportunity to see for the first time how much his church supported him. When 95 percent of the membership backed the film, Turner "knew where he stood. . . As the issue died down,he worked quietly within the church. He was, as he put it, "too hot to move anywhere in Tennessee." 22

While it was never widely publicized, it was known that Turner agreed to allow the CBS film crew in, and while nothing about it was scripted or staged, the congregation behaved accordingly. Some members of Turner's church also knew that CBS and Edward R. Murrow made a contribution to First Baptist Church. The amount was never told and the fact that it happened is probably insignificant.

The Christian Century summed up the events of Clinton's September and December crises in an article concerning Tennessee's Council of

Churches proclamation in support of the Supreme Court ruling calling for desegregation of schools. The Council commended the churches and communities that had moved to work together to end segregation and "to bring the Tennessee school system into harmony with the letter and spirit of the U.S. Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954." The Council called attention to the fact that the "organized opposition to desegregation has openly stated it proposes legal control of church schools in order to obtain its ends." It also noted that only three Southern states, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, did not then have separate state church councils. 23

The two religious magazines did not ignore what was happening in other places in 1956 either. Early in August, weeks before the Clinton problems began, Christian Century reported that a plan for integration in Memphis, Tennessee was seeking a solution within the law. 24

A few weeks later, the magazine called for patience in implementing the Supreme Court decision and noted that several churches in Atlanta denounced the idea of federal force. In contrast, letters from Boston urged the complete abolition of segregation. 25

Just one week later, the magazine reported that North Carolina was seeking alternatives to desegregation, including the closing of public schools. Thurgood Marshall was quoted from an address in Raleigh, North Carolina: "There can no longer be any reason for hope of compliance without going to the courts." 26 The same issue reported that integration was delayed in New Orleans and a Roman Catholic Archbishop was quoted as saying that the move in Parochial schools "must wait one more year." Yet, in some parts of the South, Parochial schools were the first to accept black students. 27

Even as the crisis peaked during the 1956 Labor Day weekend in Clinton, a young white minister of an all-black Lutheran congregation in Montgomery, Alabama, had his home bombed while the family was away. The report said the incident was "unquestionably related to his identification with the minority race in their long protest." The article pointed out that the minister was not head of a civil rights movement. Martin Luther King was credited with that, but the article saluted the white minister for "courageous witness to truth and love," which it predicted "shall prove stronger than dynamite." 28

The Commonweal was also examining the desegregation problems in many places, particularly in Montgomery, Alabama. An editorial told of the bombing of the home of the same young white minister's home, as well as of the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy's church. Referring to Abernathy as one of the leaders in the year-long black boycott of buses in Montgomery, the magazine noted that the "cradle of the Confederacy" was the scene of a long, legally successful effort to end Jim Crowism on the city's buses at just about the same time trouble was peaking in Clinton. The editorial concluded: "Both Montgomery and Clinton show that desegregation is inevitable, that it will be accepted even by those who do not welcome it. They also show that violence need not be a part of the violence we pay for it." 29

By March 1957, The Commonweal reported that "seemingly without a conscious desire, Mr. Eisenhower has constructed a coherent majority in the [Supreme] Court," and that "The South appears to have lost the battle irrevocably on the judicial front." 30

Nor was the trial of John Kasper and the Clinton 16, including those arrested following the beating of the Rev. Paul Turner, ignored by either magazine. In July 1957 The Commonweal reported:

> In Clinton, Tennessee, at this moment, an all-white jury is hearing the case of a number of whites charged with contempt of a Federal court injunction against their interference with local school integration. This is the South's first jury trial of a Federal Court's use of criminal contempt charges in a racial conflict. The trial in Clinton is a historic one, and the nation is deeply concerned with its outcome. What happens in Clinton, one way or the other, will become a factor of great weight in the disputed question of civil rights and trial by jury. 31

A few months later Christian Century reported that Kasper, having posted bond in the Knoxville federal court that found him and seven others guilty in the Clinton case, announced that his next target would be Nashville where first efforts toward actual desegregation began in elementary schools during the fall of 1957. 32 Kasper ultimately served a term in the state prison for his Nashville agitation, following two terms in a Florida federal prison for his part in provoking the Clinton crises.

The Christian Century carried a full account of the dynamiting of Clinton High School on October 5, 1958, following two years of relative racial quiet, both in its regular news columns and also in its editorial paragraphs.

> Children of Clinton were in makeshift schools as agents of the FBI and state authorities sought to solve another in a long series of unsolved dynamitings in the state [Tennessee}. Early on the morning of Oct. 5 three dynamite explosions wrecked the community's high school Damage was estimated at $300,000 by the

principal.

The article reviewed events of September when racial disturbances forced the governor [Frank G. Clement] to call out the National Guard to curb rioting. It also reported that Clinton authorities went to Washington to ask for federal aid in rebuilding the bombed-out school. Also noted was the forthcoming Nov. 4 election in which former governor Jim Nance McCord, as an Independent, was opposing Buford Ellington, the Democratic nominee. In announcing his candidacy McCord said his "whole background reflects the philosophy of segregation," but he pledged to keep the schools of Tennessee open. Ellington, former commissioner of agriculture, said he was "an old-fashioned segregationist," and that he would close Tennessee schools if necessary to prevent violence. The article pointed out that "Ellington, who is backed by the administration of Gov. Frank G. Clement [who, by Tennessee law, could not run for another term] seems certain of victory, since nomination in the Democratic primary is usually tantamount to election in Tennessee." 33 This election was an example of the part segregation sympathy has played and continues to play in Southern politics.

An editorial in the same issue called for giving federal aid to bombed-out schools, citing their "legitimate claim to help from the nation whose laws they are obeying. The citizens of Clinton, Tennessee, need and should receive help in rebuilding their integrated high school," the writer said, citing the fact that for years the federal government had aided schools in what are called "federally impacted areas," such as those near defense installations, and that

Clinton had been impacted "by reason of a policy which has the backing of the large majority of the citizens in the United States." The editorial concluded that Arthur Flemming, then secretary of the department of Health Education and Welfare should listen. 34 Actually, no such help was given, although an effort was made by Clinton leaders to get it. Instead, money came mainly from state funds and through a "Buy a Brick" Campaign launched by columnist Drew Pearson, with encouragement from evangelist Billy Graham, who came with Pearson to Clinton to speak out for the cause of desegregation. Money from the Pearson drive and from the state went into a fund managed by the Anderson County School Board. The city of Clinton was not involved because it had no high school even though the Anderson county high school carried its name. 35 Ultimately, the high school was rebuilt almost to its original specifications. The Pearson-Graham appearances in Clinton, however, did more for attitude adjustment, particularly among the more rigid religious fundamentalists, than it did to fill the school building fund coffers.

Almost immediately after the school was dynamited, an article entitled, "The Church and the Race Crisis" by Martin Luther King appeared in The Christian Century. Pointing out that it was a moral, not merely political, issue. King called upon the church to "face its historic obligation in this crisis." He cited economist Gunnar Myrdal's statement that the problem of race is "America's greatest moral dilemma," and noted that the Judeo-Christian tradition "makes segregation morally unjustifiable." He also wrote, using the philosophy of theologian Martin Buber, that:

> Segregation scars the soul of both the segregator and the segregated. The segregator looks upon the segregated as a thing [an it] to be used, not a person to be respected. Segregation substitutes an "I-it" relationship for the "I-thou" relationship. Thus it is utterly opposed to the noble teachings of our Judeo-Christian tradition. 36

As The Commonweal editorialized early on:

> The Clinton experience "thus suggests not only what is likely to take place in many Southern towns when desegregation is actually attempted, but it underlines the force, moral as well as legal, that the Federal Government can use to prevent violence and to see that the ruling of the Supreme Court is duly enforced. 37

And as reported early on in Christian Century, Mayor W. E. Lewallen said:

> "We thought we had done enough when we set up a sort of committee and talked the situation over with some of the civic clubs and leaders. We were wrong." He observed that events have scuttled the old southern maxim that the less said about race relations the better. 38

Unfortunately the old Southern maxim isn't entirely scuttled even in the 1990s. There may be more talk about the problem, but it is still too often regarded as more political than moral. There is considerable maneuvering in public school systems to avoid what by now should be a totally desegregated educational system. Lessons from the Clinton experience still need to be recalled where racial issues continue, or worse, where they seem to be more of a problem than ever. The two magazines, along with other publications, have a continuing important mission for serious reform in race relations.

End notes

[1] Editorial, The Commonweal, Dec. 21, 1956, Vol. 65, p. 301.

[2] Editorial statement, The Commonweal, Sept. 20, 1957, pp. 603-604.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Elizabeth Peele, A History of Segregation in Oak Ridge, 1943-1960. Unpublished study prepared for the Oak Ridge Community Relations Council, August 1960.

[5] The Christian Century, Sept. 12, 1956, p. 1043, Vol. LXXIII, No. 37. [The late Judge Robert Love Taylor was from a well-known Tennessee family. Both his father and his uncle were Tennessee governors, his father a Republican, and his uncle a Democrat. Judge Taylor joined his uncle's party, that being a more pragmatic political move in a Southern state even though East Tennessee was largely Republican.

[6] Rayford Logan, "Is the NAACP Communistic?", Christian Century, July 4, 1956, Vol. 73, pp. 802-803.

[7] Ibid.

[8] "Segregation Victorious in Louisiana," The Christian Century, Nov. 7, 1956, p. 1302.

[9] "Virginia Hews to Segregation Line," The Christian Century, p. 1456.

[10] The Christian Century, Oct. 3, 1956, p. 1749.

[11] Ibid, pp. 1749, 1750.

[12] L. T. Twomey, Loyola University, "Challenge to America," The Commonweal, Sept. 21, 1956, pp. 603, 604.

[13] The Christian Century, Oct. 3, 1956, Op. Cit.

[14] The Christian Century, Dec. 19, 1956, Vol. 73, p. 1492.

[15] "Christian Minister Lives His Faith," editorial, The Christian Century, Dec. 19, 1956, p. 1470.

[16] Interview with Leo and Mary Burnett, March 19, 1980, and telephone interview and follow-up letter and tape from the Rev. Paul Turner, July 21, 1980 and Aug. 10, 1980.

[17] Interview with Eleanor Davis, Sept. 12, 1978, and later telephone conversations.

[18] Telephone interview and follow-up letter and tape from the Rev. Paul Turner, July 21, 1980. and Aug. 10, 1980. [On Dec. 18, 1980, [Dr. Paul Winston Turner, 57, shot himself to death at his home in Corte Madera, California, where he had been associated with the Golden Gate Baptist Seminary until a dispute led him to resign.

[19] Chicago Daily Defender, Dec. 6, 1956, p. 1.

[20] Turner interview, Op. Cit.

[21] "Too Hot to Handle," an editorial, Illinois Baptist, April 4, 1979, p. 4.

[22] Mary L. Cleveland, "A Story that Baptists Passed By," Illinois Baptist, April 4, 1979, p. 5.

[23] Christian Century, Dec. 19, 1956, p. 1492. See also p. 1470 for editorial commending Paul Turner.

[24] Christian Century, Aug. 8, 1956, p. 298.

[25] Christian Century, Aug. 22, 1956, p. 979.

[26] Christian Century, Aug. 29, 1956, p. 1000.

[27] Ibid, p. 1002

[28] Christian Century, Sept. 5, 1956, p. 1012.

[29] The Commonweal, Dec. 21, 1956, p. 301.

[30] The Commonweal, March 22, 1957, p. 632.

[31] The Commonweal, July ??20?? 23???, 1957.

[32] Christian Century,, Sept. 4, 1957, p. 1051.

[33] Woodrow A. Geier, "News of the Christian World - Tennessee," The Christian Century Oct. 15, 1958, p. 1172.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Clinton Courier-News, Oct. 23, 1958; also interview with Horace Wells, May 8, 1990; also FBI file 44-13723, parts 1 - 4.

[36] Martin Luther King, "The Church and the Race Crisis," Christian Century, Oct. 8, 1958, pp. 1140, 1141.

[37] The Commonweal, Dec. 21, 1956, p. 301.

[38] Colbert S. Cartwright, "Lesson from Little Rock," Christian Century, Oct. 9, 1957, p. 1193.

The Roots of the Trade Press:
The American Railroad Journal
and the Professionalization of an Industry, 1832 to 1840

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Abstract

The Roots of the Trade Press: The American Railroad Journal and the Professionalization of an Industry, 1832 to 1840

The American Railroad Journal was a member of the first generation of trade publications in the United States. Launched when a scant 100 miles of track were operational in America, the Journal grew up with the railroad industry. During its first eight years of life, the Journal matured from a blind enthusiast to a more open-minded industry spokesman for growth, safety, efficiency and responsibility.

Abstract

The Roots of the Trade Press:
The American Railroad Journal
and the Professionalization of an Industry, 1832 to 1840

The American Railroad Journal was a member of the first generation of trade publications in the United States. It literally grew up along with the industry it was committed to cover.

Launched when a scant 100 miles of track were operational, the Journal functioned initially as a clearinghouse of railroad information in America and a blind enthusiast. The Journal always had a good word for every new railroad project

Eventually, the publication stepped up its technical coverage. The Journal offered information on the newest products, inventions and innovations designed to improve the speed, reliability and travel on railroads. It also became an agent for the professionalization of engineering--by ever urging higher standards and organization within the field.

By the end of the decade, its role had become increasingly complex. It had become a realistic leader for its industry, urging pressure on Congress when a tariff threatened to decrease imports of railroad iron, pointing out the merits of fare reduction during a depression, and prodding engineers to organize.

In so doing, the American Railroad Journal matured as a trade publication.

The Roots of the Trade Press: The American Railroad Journal and the Professionalization of an Industry, 1832 to 1840

The 1830s represented the dawning of the railroad age in America. And with it came the start of what might be considered one of the first true trade publications--ones specializing in the coverage of one industry.[1] The railroad industry and its trade periodical, the American Railroad Journal, grew up together. In 1832, when the Journal made its debut, locomotives chugged along in America on a scant 100 miles of track.[2]

But the industry--and its Journal--held great promise. The industry grew quickly--too quickly in light of the abuses it spawned. By the mid 1830s, railroads crisscrossed the East with little thought as to system, linkage or future development.[3] Those early routes were nightmares of sharp curves, steep grades and winding curves[4] at an ever mounting price tag. Early railroads burned capital as quickly as their locomotives consumed wood.[5] No one seemed to mind the recklessness, however. Americans just loved their railroads. Or, as one French traveler to America in 1835 reported, "The American has a perfect passion for railroads, he loves them...as a lover loves his mistress."[6]

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[1] The South Carolina Price Current has been conventionally identified as the first business publication in the United States. However, this publication covered a wide range of businesses in 1774. The American Railroad Journal was one of the first to cover only one industry, making it--in the truest sense--the ancester of today's business/trade press in America. See Folio, March 1, 1991 and Don Gussow, The New Business Journalism: An Insider's Look at the Workings of America's Business Press (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984), p. xi.

[2] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington, D.C., 1957), p. 427.

[3] William Larrabee, The Railroad Question: A Historical and Practical Treatise on Railroads, and Remedies for Their Abuses (Chicago: Schulte Publishing Co., 1893), p. 79.

The American Railroad Journal was the result of one man's passion for railroading. D. Kimball Minor, New York City editor/publisher, saw railroading as the future of the nation. But there was more to sustain the Journal than one man's love for railroads. Otherwise, the Journal might have gone the way of the Railroad Advocate, the first but short lived trade newspaper which covered the railroad industry.[7]

Minor brought to the Journal experience, experience in producing technical publications and serving a specialized audience. He also brought what would develop into a critical eye as to what was happening within the railroad industry. As a result, during its first eight years of existence, the Journal evolved into a responsible voice for the railroad industry. This publication began its life as a blind supporter and ended the decade as a leader and educator of an industry. This paper will deal with the American Railroad Journal and its role in the improvement and professionalization of the industry between 1832 and 1840.

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[4] Frederick A. Cleveland and Fred W. Powell, Railroad Promotion and Capitalization in the United States (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1909), p. 64.

[5] Larrabee, The Railroad Question, p. 79.

[6] Michael Chevalier, Society, Manners and Politics in the United States, Being a Series of Letters in North America (New York: Burt Franklin, 1839), p. 307.

[7] The Railroad Advocate was apparently launched sometime in 1831. Its death was announced to American Railroad Journal readers in 1832. See American Railroad Journal, June 30, 1832, p. 421.

In a sense, the American Railroad Journal's start mirrored the railroad industry's early growth. D. Kimball Minor struck upon the idea of a trade publication to cover the railroad industry. And the next week--with little planning and little preparation--Minor launched the American Rail Road Journal[8] as a 16-page weekly.[9] It was chock full of news and promises. The Journal promised the latest from European, and especially English, publications and the most up-to-date information on America's railroads. The first issue also contained an unwritten commitment--that the editor would never conceal his enthusiasm for railroading. This new publication was designed to show that railroads were "far superior to any mode of internal communication, and that they must, in a few years, entirely take the place of of [sic] Canals, where new works are to be constructed."[10]

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[8] The name went through a variety of forms. It started as the Rail Road Journal on January 2, 1832. On September 1, 1832, it became the American Railroad Journal and Advocate of Internal Improvements, to reflect the publications commitment to internal improvements in general. See American Railroad Journal, Sept. 1, 1832, p. 561. In 1837, the name was changed to the American Railroad Journal and Mechanics Magazine. That name change represented a merging of publications. In 1837, the Mechanics Magazine, another Minor publication, was discontinued and its subscribers received the Railroad Journal to fulfill their subscription terms. See American Railroad Journal, Dec. 30, 1837, p. 682. Eight years later the name was changed again, this time to the American Railroad Journal and General Advertiser for Railroads, Canals, Steamboats, Machines and Mines. The change was made after Minor returned to his position of editor/proprietor.

[9] The Journal remained a weekly until 1838; when after a suspension of several months, its frequency was cut back to semimonthly. See American Railroad Journal, July 1, 1838, p. 1. It was converted to a monthly in 1843. See American Railroad Journal, January 1943, p. 1. It reverted back to a weekly in 1845. See American Railroad Journal, December 1844, p. 353.

In launching this publication, Minor was not blindly going into the publishing foray. He was already an accomplished editor/publisher of other New York City-based specialized publications. By 1832, Minor published and/or edited the New York Farmer and American Gardener's Magazine, the Plough Boy, the Mechanics Magazine, and the New York American.[11] The Rail-Road Journal, as it was spelled at first, was a complement to these publications in certain regards, but a departure in others. The Rail-Road Journal, in a sense, was a "sister" publication to the Mechanics Magazine. Like that magazine, the Journal was concerned, in part, with technical and "mechanical" matters. And the Rail-Road Journal shared the same geographical pool of readers from which the other Minor publications drew. The greatest portion of the Journal's readers were located in New York State.[12] However, the Rail-Road Journal was trying to appeal an audience not specifically addressed in any of his other four publications. The envisioned audience would be "Gentlemen engaged in constructing, or superintending Railroads; and others in possession of information upon the subject," Minor wrote.[13] The readers had to be fairly affluent to subscribe. Minor placed a steep price on the Rail-Road Journal--$3 a year in advance, and the price would soon climb even higher.[14]

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[10] American Rail-Road Journal, January 2, 1832, p.1.

[11] Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., Henry Varnum Poor, Business Editor, Analyst and Reformer (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956), p. 34.

[12] American Rail-Road Journal, Jan. 2, 1832, p. 1.

[13] American Rail-Road Journal, Jan. 2, 1832, p. 1.

The publication's debut brought a flurry of subscriptions to Minor's New York City office.[15] By September 1832, Minor reported that the Journal already had 500 subscribers with greater circulation predicted. But the readership never matched Minor's expectations[16]--at least not initially. Minor and the editor who would follow him often bemoaned the lack of revenue from subscriptions or advertising.[17] Moreover, the Journal was also plagued by the currency woes of the day. In 1834, Minor announced that he would accept only U.S. Bank notes.[18]

The lack of a large circulation did not necessarily mean that the Journal did not do its job, or that it failed to provide needed information, or that it did not occupy a special place in the fledgling American railroad industry. As the only railroad publication in the nation,[19] the Journal kept its readers up to date with news of railroad charters, annual corporate reports, government analyses of transportation systems, indepth stories on technical advances in the field, new product announcements and editorials.

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[14] American Rail-Road Journal, January 2, 1832, p. 1. The price of the publication went up to $ 5 a year in 1834 and remained $5 even after the frequency was cut back to a semi monthly. See American Railroad Journal, Dec. 5, 1835, p. 753 and July 1, 1838, p. 1.

[15] New York City at this time was only one of a number of important cities with regard to railroad development. In 1840, New York ranked second behind Pennsylvania in the amount of rails laid. See John Stover, American Railroads (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 19.

[16] In 1843, the circulation reached 1,500. That circulation increased appreciably once the periodical was sold to John Alfred Poor. By the mid 1850s, the Journal's circulation reache 4,500. See Chandler, Henry Varnum Poor, pp. 34 and 299.

[17] See, for example, American Railroad Journal, July 4, 1835, p. 409, Jan. 2, 1836, p. 817; July 15, 1837, p. 433, July 16, 1838, p. 41.

[18] American Railroad Journal, March 8, 1834, p. 129.

[19] A few were competitors of a sort but all the other railroad publications prior to 1849 were short lived. The first railroad publication in the United States was published in Nashville. It started in 1831 and died in 1832. The

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That type of coverage brought more readers into the Journal fold. By the end of the decade, the circulation exceeded 1,000.[20] Those readers could be found from Maine to Louisiana and points in between. The largest portion of the readership, however, remained in New York State and the Northeast.[21] However, raw circulation figures failed to reflect the Journal's importance within the industry. Subscribers and/or contributors to the Journal read like a Who's Who in railroading and in railways. They included: Isaac Trimble, engineer of the Baltimore and Susquehanna; Charles Ellet, designer of suspension bridges; Edwin F. Johnson, chief engineer of the Northern Pacific Railroad; Benjamin Latrobe, designer of the Thomas Viaduct in Maryland and engineer of the Baltimore and Ohio; William C. Redfield, writer of meteorological classics and pamphlets on railroad construction; James Renwick, professor of natural philosophy and experimental chemistry at Columbia and recognized authority on every branch of engineering; and John C. Trautwine, eminent surveyor for the railroad industry and later surveyor for the Panama Canal.[22] And the American Railroad Journal was gaining a European

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Southern Transcript and Railroad Journal also apparently had a short life. See American Railroad Journal, June 30, 1832, p. 421 and July 4, 1835, p. 409.

[20] In 1836, subscriptions had not yet reached 1,000. See American Railroad Journal, Jan. 2, 1836, p. 817 and Chandler, Henry Varnum Poor, p. 299.

[21] American Railroad Journal, Dec. 28, 1833, p. 817; Jan. 14, 1837, p. 17; Jan. 21, p. 33, Jan. 28, p. 49, Feb. 4, p. 65; and Feb. 11, p. 81.

readership as well. Michael Chevalier, traveler to America in 1835, first came into contact with the Journal in Liverpool when he sailed for the United States.[23]

Before it crossed the Atlantic, however, the Journal had to make a name for itself in America. In its early years, the Journal tried to be a periodical that provided everything. It reprinted New York news and political comment from the New York American, another Minor publication.[24] But it was in its railroad coverage and comment that the Journal's reputation rested. In the early days, the Journal became a central clearinghouse for information on railroading in America. Minor accomplished this goal by publishing railroad charters, annual reports of corporations and maps of new railway construction. The Journal complemented this news function with a booster's editorial comment.

The charters and annual reports were fairly easy to obtain. After a few published calls for reports, the Journal was regularly receiving and reprinting the reports[25]--with much editorial comment added. According to the Journal, North, South, East or West, if there was new railroad construction, it was worth applauding. With the South Carolina Railroad and Canal Co. report, Minor saw only

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[22] American Railroad Journal, July 15, 1842, p. 33. Concise Dictionary of American Biography, 2nd edition, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977), pp. 276, 498, 548, 831, 837, and 1053.

[23] Chevalier, Society, Manners and Politics in the United States, p. 82.

[24] Typically, four or five of the 16 pages would be reprinted from the American. That connection remained until Minor relinquished control of the American. See American Railroad Journal, Jan. 3, 1836, p. 817.

[25] See, for example, American Railroad Journal, May 24, 1834, p. 305; April 20, 1833, p. 243; June 2, 1832, p. 353; May 5, 1832, pp. 289-91; and Feb. 11, 1832, p. 98.

potential for the company and the region--"gratifying to witness the success of this Road. It will give an impetus to the prosperity, not only to South Carolina, but of the whole South."[26] After publishing the incorporation papers of the New York and Erie Railroad, Minor saw the massive engineering project ahead but expected only success. "We hope, and believe, there will be a full meeting, that the first movement in this noble enterprize may show that its friends are determined to carry it through."[27]

Those reports and charters were available elsewhere--scattered throughout the United States in newspapers where each railroad was located. Here, for the first time, there was a central record of railroad information. The government had not yet begun publishing it.

The words of charters and reports failed to provide a "picture" of railroading in these early years. In 1833, no map of railroads in America existed. Soon one would be forthcoming with the help of Minor and readers of the American Railroad Journal. "A Friend" was preparing such a map and Minor wanted to be sure that the project was completed. Using the Journal as an information forum, Minor invited the readers to send maps, charters and locational information of each of their railroads to the Journal's offices, where in turn they could be sent to "Friend." The project was completed and the maps were offered to Journal readers. The next year, the maps were updated and again offered. The updated versions were "far more complete than first anticipated," observed Minor, and were a popular item among Journal readers. By 1835, a new railroad map had become something of a tradition--and an enticement to renew. The American Railroad Journal announced plans to include the updated railroad and canal maps in the new volume.[28]

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[26] American Railroad Journal, May 24, 1834, p. 305.

[27] American Railroad Journal, May 5, 1832, p. 289. See also June 16, 1832, p. 385; June 23, 1832, p. 401 and Aug. 24, 1833, p. 529 for other such editorial comment.

The maps represented just one of a number of clearinghouse functions that the Journal served in its early years. In 1834, the publication also offered a list of all railroads in the United States. The project may have been larger than Minor had anticipated. The list, with descriptive material, went on for pages--and for issues.[29]

Throughout the 1830s, the Journal continued with the charters and reports. But as time passed, Minor's expertise in railroading increased and a new partner was added, the American Railroad Journal expanded its editorial function. It became a technical sourcebook, a textbook on new engineering methods that was updated each week. It also provided descriptions and schematic drawings of new products designed to increase the speed, reliability and safety of railroad travel.

D. Kimball Minor was not an engineer. He was an editor with many contacts within the industry. In 1836, Minor took on a partner, George C. Schaeffer, a "practical engineer."[30] A New York civil engineer, Schaeffer took over the "principle charge" of both the

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[28] American Railroad Journal, Aug. 17, 1833, p. 53; May 31, 1834, p. 321; Oct. 31, 1835, p. 353.
[29] American Railroad Journal, July 19, 1834, pp. 432-3; July 26, 1834, pp. 451-3; Aug. 2, 1834, pp. 465-9; Aug.9, 1834, pp. 481-2.
[30] American Railroad Journal, July 2, 1836, p. 401.

Journal and the Mechanics Magazine, the two "technical" periodicals published by Minor.[31]

It was at this time, the American Railroad Journal stepped up its technical coverage. This is not to say that the Journal failed to offer technical material before. From the beginning, Minor attempted to provide a measure of technical information. He provided reports on the McAdams Road, news on the experiments of Sands Olcott on locomotive power required for inclined planes, accounts of improved wheels for railroad cars and updates on the Avery Rotary Steam Engine.[32] Such coverage, however, often depended upon manufacturers, retailers, or agents for updates or initial information.

In addition, Minor offered lists of patents, reprinted for American and European periodicals. Stephenson's Improved Locomotive was thus introduced to Journal readers in 1834--with a variety of schematic engravings. Each issue of the Journal carried schematics of transportation advances.[33]

But Minor's technical information was only one part of an editorial package designed to appeal primarily to the upper and middle management of the railroad industry. Schaeffer expanded the technical coverage and, in so doing, increased the readership among the engineers. Being a civil engineer himself, Schaeffer was especially attuned to the special problems the railroad engineers faced and the Journal soon played a role in the education and professionalization of engineers. Schaeffer did this in a number of ways: by increasing the amount of coverage on new products; by providing possible solutions to some of the more perplexing problems in railroad engineering; by offering a central office/reading room for engineers; and by ever working for a professional institute or organization for engineers.

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[31] Chandler, Henry Varnum Poor, p. 37; American Railroad Journal, July 2, 1836, p. 401.

[32] American Railroad Journal, March 24, 1832, p. 193, Aug. 25, 1832, p. 545, Aug. 9, 1834, p. 481, and March 38, 1835, p. 177. For a time, the editor of the American Railroad Journal also acted as agent for the Avery engine, see March 11, 1837, p. 145.

[33] American Railroad Journal, Dec. 13, 1834, p. 764 and Dec. 20, 1834, pp. 792-3.

In this way, Schaeffer transformed the Journal into must reading for the engineers in the railroad industry--and, along the way, he increased the circulation of his publication.

By the second half of the 1830s, new products were regularly introduced; and Schaeffer provided a running list of the innovations from the new American Locomotive, available from the New-Castle Manufacturing Co., to a new wheel designed to improve ascent on inclined planes to a new method to attach railroad cars.[34] Moreover, Schaeffer provided a full editorial discussion of some of the more perplexing technical problems facing engineers. Two of the more difficult ones were the durability (or lack thereof) of railway iron and the mismatched gauge.

The increased number of railroad accidents pointed tragically to the lack of durability in the iron used in the nation's rolling stock. The problem arose, Schaeffer observed, from deficiencies in the processing of the metal, both in England and in America. Schaeffer reminded readers that the best way to keep this deficiency in check was through regular inspections.[35]

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[34] American Railroad Journal, Dec. 17, 1836, p. 785; and Nov. 1, 1838, pp. 265-6.

The gauge question was the more complicated one and one that would not be settled until after the Civil War. It had long plagued the railroad industry in the U.S. As early as 1832, Minor warned that the lack of a consistent gauge among railroads would eventually spell trouble--there was no need of "breaking of bulk" (i.e. transferring goods and merchandise from vehicles of one width to cars of another). Minor suggested surveying the railroad companies to determine the width most popular and then all companies would adopt that standard. Minor also suggested gauge standardization by statute.[36] But no survey was apparently done and no government enacted such legislation. As a result, as time passed, the problem became more complicated as the number of railroads increased.

By the time Schaeffer took over as editor, there were at least three competing gauge widths: the 4 8-1/2-inch width common in the North and New England; the 6-ft gauge of the New York and Erie Railroad; and the 5- foot dimension of the South. Under Schaeffer, the American Railroad Journal tended to favor the North/New England gauge but always allowed a full discussion of the benefits of several of the gauges.[37]

The Journal's role in educating engineers expanded beyond the editorial content of the periodical itself. Schaeffer also aided the professionalization of the occupation by offering a line of products designed to profit the publisher financially and educate the reader. The American Railroad Journal sold books on engines, railroad curves, tunnels and other technical subjects. In addition, Schaeffer, through the Journal, offered a line of engineering and surveying instruments, account books and stationary.[38]

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[35] American Railroad Journal, June 15, 1842, p. 354; July 1843, pp. 193-9.

[36] American Railroad Journal, Jan. 21, 1832, p. 51, and Jan. 28, 1832, p. 66.

[37] American Railroad Journal, June 1, 1839, p. 353.

Schaeffer also arranged for the printing of extra copies of the "special" issues of the Journal. For example, extra copies of the issue on locomotive engines were printed and distributed free to interested parties. Others were distributed free at the nineteenth-century version of "trade shows." In 1836, Schaeffer announced plans to send copies to exhibitors at the American Institution.[39]

Perhaps the most innovative way to bind the engineer to the Journal was the reading room. Located adjacent to the Journal's editorial offices, the reading room was part mail drop, library and meeting ground for engineers from across the country. The editor promised that the room would be stocked with the latest domestic and foreign scientific periodicals, reports and documents sent to Schaeffer, as well as back volumes of the Journal. Here engineers could do research, keep up on their field, and have a "frequent and easy intercommunication" with others in their profession.[40] This room reflected the Journal's role within the engineering profession in the late 1830s--the periodical had also become a place where engineers could exchange ideas.

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[38] See, for example, American Railroad Journal, April 9, 1836, p. 193 and March 11, 1837, p. 145.

[39] American Railroad Journal, July 30, 1836, p. 465 and Dec. 3, 1836, p. 753.

[40] American Railroad Journal, April 15, 1840, pp. 225-6.

Those kinds of forums were desperately needed because engineers had been unable--or unwilling--to set up a national, professional organization. Schaeffer was not the first--or the last--engineer to see the need for such an association. But he was one of the few who could use his position to publicize the need for such a group. The American Railroad Journal made a engineering association one of its prime goals, a task still unfulfilled by 1840. Schaeffer often wrote that only through such an organization would engineers assure high standards for their profession.

From Schaeffer's perspective, the time was right for organization. Already the profession was witnessing the influx of many poorly trained engineers, who owed their jobs to political connections rather than experience. As a result, railroads were inappropriately located and the roads badly surveyed. There were too many unsafe conditions and huge cost overruns. Nonetheless, experienced engineers balked at forming such an association. Schaeffer could understand the logic for the apprehension--but he did not agree with it.

> They who have held the rod, have carried the compass and level, have surveyed hundreds of miles of railroads and canals, and superintended the construction of not a few, are not pleased with the idea of being ranked with those who having failed as lawyers, doctors, storekeepers, or office hunters 'turn their attention,' as the phrase is, to Civil Engineering, and who, in only too many instances, have at once received appointments to which they should have looked after five or six years arduous service in the field in the various grades of the profession.[41]

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[41] American Railroad Journal, Dec. 15, 1839, p. 353.

To Schaeffer the time was right for organization. The nation was already in the midst of a depression; railroad construction was off dramatically. Only well trained, experienced engineers should have a hand in the design and survey of the few new roads. Instead, ill-trained but "politically correct" engineers were benefitting from the disorganization in the field. These engineers underestimated costs, proposed inappropriate routes, failed to plan for geography; as a result, certain railroads, especially those in the West, were in jeopardy. [42]

A national organization for engineers was never far from Schaeffer's mind. Again and again he returned to it. But, if engineers would not organize, they could at least have their own journal--the American Railroad Journal,--"...we desire them [engineers] to consider the American Railroad Journal as their organ for communication and discussion with each other, and their representative and advocate with the public in general."[43] Linking this editorial advocacy with its line of engineering products and the Civil Engineers Library/Reading Room, Schaeffer had assured that the American Railroad Journal had a special place in the engineer-reader's career. In the process, the American Railroad Journal increased its pool of potential readers--and that translated into circulation gains by the end of the decade.

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[42] American Railroad Journal, Dec. 15, 1839, pp. 354-5; Oct. 15, 1842, p. 212. See Nov. 15, 1842, p. 292 for a full discussion of engineering problems which spelled disaster for the railroad industry.
[43] American Railroad Journal, Jan. 1, 1842, p. 3

Although the Journal provided an extensive array of editorial and technical news coverage, it was not solely an engineers publication. It had a broader editorial mission. While it flourished as the industry booster, the Journal also needed to deal with the host of problems besetting the railroads. The greatest set of these problems surfaced after the Panic of 1837 when private investment dollars dried up, construction slowed, and the depression deepened. In the late 1830s, the Journal, particularly, had to be a leader in this industry--not just a blind enthusiast for every railroad project in the country. In a number of different instances, the Journal had to balance railroad interests against other internal improvement projects. Not surprisingly, any project which promised to swing financial support away from railroads would obtain a certain amount amount of outrage from the Journal. The choice between railroads and other internal improvements became more frequent after 1837--competition between canals and railroads for financial support became more acute. Once private investor dollars dried up, state legislatures were called upon to fund more and more internal improvement projects. One of the most controversial of these projects (and the most hare brained, according to the Journal) was a plan to enlarge the Erie Canal. That promised a significant reduction in the amount of financial support from the state to the railroads. "Ontario" could see no sense to the scheme at all. For less than half the amount needed to enlarge the canal, the state could "well complete every important line of railway in the State of New York." Continuing along those lines, "JEB" warned state legislature that New York could not delay its support of railroads. "It is high time public

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attention should be directed to the cheapness with which railways can carry freight and passengers, also troops for the defence of the sea-board and the lakes."[44]

But competition for state funding wasn't the only problem facing the railroad industry as the depression deepened. Criticism of railroads was mounting. Fares were too high; stocks were too speculative; railroads were mismanaged; expenses were exorbitant. To each of these criticisms, the Journal had to respond not as a blind enthusiast but as an industry leader.

In 1839 and 1840, the cry of "excessively high and extravagant" fares rose from the public across the land. Schaeffer allowed the Journal to vent the issue. He reprinted a letter signed only "Z" from the U.S. Gazette. "Z" complained about the uneven rates across the nation but especially targeted the Philadelphia-to-New York; Philadelphia-to-Baltimore and the Baltimore- to-Washington lines for their abnormally high rates. The letter which analyzed how much each company made in tonnage and passengers made the case that travelers were paying an excessive rate. In its response to these charges, the Journal provided another set of facts and figures to point out "Z"'s "evident ignorance on the subject of Railroads."[45]

By the next year, Schaeffer had rethought his position and urged railroad companies to do likewise. The public was suffering in the depression; business and travel were off. Clearly, something had to be done and a rate reduction might be the ideal solution. "...a reasonable reduction of fare is demanded by the spirit of the times.....," wrote Schaeffer. Such a move would also make good business sense. Railroads witnessed increased business when fares were reduced, Schaeffer argued.[46]

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[44] American Railroad Journal, Oct. 15, 1839, p. 226 and Nov. 15, 1839, p. 296.
[45] American Railroad Journal, March 15, 1839, pp. 188-9.

The questions of bad planning and mismanagement were not just debated in the hard times. They had long been topics for discussion in the Journal. Although the periodical was reluctant to criticize a line once it had been chartered, Minor and later Schaeffer saw only trouble in the proliferation of routes. More thought had to be given to location. Minor, writing in 1834, emphasized that "judiciously" selected routes could expect to prosper. So the decision on location had to be made "with great care, and with an eye to future as well as present, usefulness."[47]

Hard times increased this line of discussion. Too many ill-planned lines had succumbed during the Panic of 1837 and after. Too many investors had lost money. But, Schaeffer insisted, an investment in a "sound" route would still bring a good return. "...judiciously located Railroads will not only pay a good dividend in his investment in the road, but it will, at the same time, greatly enlarge the value of his real estate if he has any."[48]

The railroad failures did not stop with the decade's end. The early 1840s brought more questions about railroads as businesses. Again, Schaeffer had to admit the railroad companies had made many mistakes in the past. Management had committed to projects before consulting with engineers. Some projects had been started

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[46] American Railroad Journal, Oct. 15, 1840, p. 226.
[47] American Railroad Journal, June 14, 1834, p. 353.
[48] American Railroad Journal, May 27, 1837, p. 321

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out of "sheer speculation"--and typically ended in losses for investors. Some of the problems emanated from some director or stockholder "who imagined himself quite an engineer--and whose ignorance might generally be measured by his conceit." But, Schaeffer observed, these excesses could never be entirely corrected until "the profession of engineering in the country stands upon the same basis and organization with the other professions."[49]

The American Railroad Journal took on many other issues. As the number of serious accidents increased, so did the publication's calls for full investigations, higher standards in employment and Grand Jury investigations.[50] As construction stalled, the Journal called on the State of New York and others to continue America's commitment to the rails.[51] As Congress passed tariffs on imported iron and railroad materials, the Journal prodded "Engineers, Directors and Stockholders of Railroads," the publication's readership, to pressure Congress the repeal the measures.[52]

In the 1830s, the American Railroad Journal established itself as an educator, leader, booster, realist and conscience of the railroad industry. As an educator, it publicized new inventions, new innovations and new products. As a leader, it was ever prodding engineers to adopt higher standards. As a booster, it always had a good word for new charters and new lines. As a realist, it told its readers that some concessions had to be made in the hard times of the late 1830s. As a conscience, it was ever reminding its readers of the industry's responsibility to the American public, as a guardian of public safety and as a public transportation system. All these roles added up to one thing: the American Railroad Journal had become an agent for professionalization in the railroad industry. And, in doing so, it matured as a trade publication, moving from its initial blind enthusiasm to a more open-minded, realistic spokesman for growth, safety, efficiency and respectability, setting the standard for trade publications that would follow.

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[49] American Railroad Journal, Oct. 15, 1842, pp. 225-227.

[50] American Railroad Journal, July 2, 1836, p. 401

[51] American Railroad Journal, Jan. 1, 1839, p. 8.

[52] American Railroad Journal, Oct. 15, 1842, pp. 227-30

EUGENE V. SMALLEY AND THE *NORTHWEST* MAGAZINE

A "Shill" for the Northern Pacific's Land Department Or A Force for Community Building in the Northwest?

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EUGENE V. SMALLEY AND THE *NORTHWEST* MAGAZINE

A "Shill" for the Northern Pacific's Land Department or a Force for Building Northwest Communities?

In the first issue of the *Northwest* issued under his editorship, Eugene V. Smalley declared his goals. "We believe," Smalley wrote, "that a newspaper devoted to chronicling the growth of this region [the Northwest] and describing its characteristic scenery, life and undeveloped resources, has a field of usefulness and profit."[1]

This prospectus for the *Northwest* bears a strong similarity to other regional and city magazines in America launched in the 1880s. The *Northwest* was the first railroad-sponsored magazine to survive infancy. An earlier eight-page quarterly in newspaper format describing Union Pacific routes and edited for the UP by Robert E. Strahorn in 1879 at Omaha disappeared after 1884.[2] The *Northwest*, however, became a proto-type for later regional magazines.[3] Its scope and vision made it as much a force encouraging community purpose as for simply attracting newcomers to the Northwest. The *Northwest*, the magazine Smalley created, ". . . has had no small influence in making the resources and the progress of the Northwest known to the country," the St. Paul *Pioneer Press* noted on Smalley's death.[4]

The *Northwest's* researchers have looked primarily at its role in luring immigrants to the Northwest. Siegfried Mickelson in a 1940 Master's degree thesis at the University of Minnesota considered the *Northwest* as an advertising medium for the Land Department of the Northern Pacific Railroad. From the Land Department perspective, the *Northwest* was only one of several ways of advertising the millions of acres for sale in the NP's land grant. Thus, the focus from Mickelson's view of the *Northwest* is as a promotion vehicle to attract immigrants and sell land.[5]

The immigration and land sales aspects of the *Northwest* also were emphasized by Edgar C. Duin in an article based upon his 1950 Master's Thesis at Georgetown University. After establishing this premise, Duin then argues that the *Northwest* and similar "Publications merely provided the impetus to a movement which would have taken place whether or not railroad and immigration pamphlets and periodicals like the *Northwest Magazine* had been distributed. Their main purpose was to guide those whose minds were already made up or, at most, to help wavering spirits 'over the hump' . . ."[6] Duin seems to contradict or minimize his first statement of the *Northwest's* role. Frank Mott, however, lists the *Northwest* not among immigration/guidebook periodicals, but among local and regional magazines. He cites the *Northwest* as ". . . an attractive and interesting periodical of its class."[7]

The research for this paper is based on files of the *Northwest,* the records of the Northern Pacific, and the articles of

Eugene V. Smalley, who incorporated an autobiographical series in the magazine.[8] Smalley was not only the editor of the *Northwest* from 1883 until his death in 1899, but served the NP in various public relations roles beginning in 1882.

These sources demonstrate, as this paper will argue, that the *Northwest's* primary message was the progress, opportunities and furthering the sense of community in the cities and states of the Northwest. Within that context there were also implications certain to attract additional immigrants. But this does not mean that the *Northwest* was exclusively an immigrant advertisement or guide book magazine. That concept offered insufficient depth to sustain a folio size, 32-page monthly magazine such as the *Northwest* over the 20 years of its existence. In addition, Smalley's stance of matching his portraits of opportunities with warnings of hardships in a developing region shows more concern for the long range growth of Northwest communities than simply the promotion of immigration or land sales.

Henry Villard, famed Civil War correspondent for the New York *Tribune*, laid the foundation for the Northern Pacific's subsequent promotion efforts in 1874 when he took over the failed Oregon and California railroad on behalf of its German bondholders. In 1881 Villard became president of the Northern Pacific, a railroad that had been struggling since its first rail was laid in 1869 near Duluth, Minnesota. To fulfill its Congressional charter, the Northern Pacific had to connect the Great Lakes with Puget Sound. When completed the NP was due to receive 46 million acres. These lands stretched across the states of Minnesota and Oregon as well as the territories of Dakota, Montana, Idaho and Washington.

The lands had to be sold quickly to meet the interest payments on the NP's construction bonds. More than that, the region needed people who would become permanent residents--farmers who shipped cattle and grain, merchants who stocked their stores via shipments over NP lines from midwest wholesalers and lumbermen to begin cutting the region's forests and shipping their wood products to the world over the NP. A railroad created across an unpeopled wilderness might be an engineering accomplishment, but NP's financial future depended upon permanent communities sustained by a developing economy. The NP estimated its lands alone were capable of providing farm homes to two million families or 10 million people.[9] Millions more acres of public lands lay among the railroad grants. It was real estate development on a near-continental scale.

Villard chose three main tactics to carry out the master promotion plan--a subsidized book priced cheaply enough to find its way into virtually every lending library; a grand event that would compel coverage by the world's newspapers and capture public interest; and a subsidized monthly magazine that would carry the message of the region served by the Northern Pacific on a continuing basis into thousands of homes monthly.

Eugene V. Smalley like Villard was a former New York *Tribune* correspondent. He joined the NP staff in February 1882 to gather background for Villard's proposed book. Smalley followed the route of the still incomplete railroad from Duluth on the Great Lakes to Tacoma on Puget Sound. Smalley started at still wintry Duluth in May, 1882. He ran out of completed track at Forsyth, Montana Territory, 40 miles west of Miles City. From there, Smalley and two companions traveled by wagon and horseback some 600 miles before meeting the western NP construction crews in Northern Idaho.

Smalley, a one-time Ohio abolitionist newspaper editor, began his westward journey a skeptic but came back convinced of the Northwest's future. Smalley found so much that was novel or unknown about the Northwest that he also wrote a four-part series for *Century* while producing Villard's book, the *History of the Northern Pacific Railroad.*[10] Smalley's magazine reports caught the frontier flavor of Northwest towns and villages eagerly awaiting rails. The trip was prime preparation for his next 16 years of editing the *Northwest*.

As Smalley worked his way west, he noted that railroads had turned upside down the pattern of settlement he remembered from his boyhood in Ohio. Instead of waiting for sufficient settlers to justify rails, the railroad pushed far ahead of the farm frontier. Speculators chose townsites based on promising nearby undeveloped farm lands or potential irrigation possibilities. The NP, always hungry for cash, either sold the townsite outright or joined in the speculative process.[11]

"Booming" followed. A new frontier town became an advertisement to lure farmers and stockmen to the surrounding lands. Smalley defined "booming" for his readers as ". . . an art requiring a little money, and no end of push and cheek . . . the object of a boom is to attract settlers, advance the price of real estate, and promote speculation."[12] Land speculation raced ahead of the Northern Pacific's construction in 1882 like prairie wildfire. Smalley too caught the excitement. He bought town lots in the promising village of Jamestown, Dakota Territory. He put $500 into a Miles City, Montana Territory, real estate syndicate and was deeded 15 lots as his share. He also invested at Spokane Falls, Washington Territory, regretting only that limited funds prevented him from buying more land.[13]

After retracing his westward passage, Smalley saw both the enormous potential of the Northwest as well as its shortcomings. "There is absolutely no waste land between the well-settled region of Dakota and the new wheat region of Washington Territory," he enthused. "For the entire distance every square mile of the country is valuable whether for farming, stock-raising, or timber cutting," he wrote in *Century*.[14]

As for problems, Smalley saw few that that couldn't be cured. The solutions included encouragement to the needed two million new residents. An influx of newcomers was already under way, Smalley testified in his articles. Changes in Federal policy such as opening the huge Montana Indian reservations to white settlement and increasing the authorized size of government homesteads to match western farming practices would help, Smalley suggested. He admitted, however, that newcomers to the Northwest might laugh at the log huts and shanties railroad builders marked on the maps as cities. Comparing them to 1882 western cities of the earlier frontier, he added, "They, too, wallowed in mud and were redolent with bad whiskey. The dance house, gambling den, and vile variety show were once the most conspicuous features of Omaha and Kansas City as they are now of raw Montana settlements."[15]

Smalley's *History of the Northern Pacific Railroad* was published by G. P. Putnam's Sons in 1883. Smalley wrote with the zeal of the true convert to the Northwest. North Dakota winters, he noted, were delightful. ". . . [M]ost winter days are clear, bright and still. The long season of good sleighing is used by farmers for hauling fuel . . . and visiting the towns."[16] Western Washington's climate was compared to the south of Ireland. Smalley promised that snow in western Washington seldom lasted more than a day or two, and that winter simply meant warm rains.[17] Oregon, Smalley said, offered ". . . the Willamette Valley, a veritable paradise for farmers, if any such exists on earth."[18]

The Northern Pacific distributed copies of Smalley's book generously. A copy in the University of Washington's Suzzallo Library contains a bound insert identifying the volume as an "Advance copy with the compliments of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company." From Villard's viewpoint, the most important people to receive copies were the 400 guests he planned to bring to the Last Spike celebration.

Villard saw in the railroad's completion an opportunity to promote the Northern Pacific, the region it served and especially the sale of its millions of unsold Federal land grant acres.[19] The Company's financial situation was fast becoming critical. The engineers promised the last gap in the line would be completed in time for the September 8, 1883, ceremonies at Gold Creek, Montana Territory, and acknowledged that construction costs were exceeding estimates by millions of dollars. The NP faced bankruptcy again.

The Northern Pacific for all of its financial stumbling seemed to epitomize many of the historic changes overtaking America in the 19th century. Railroads were making a nation of the continent. They were bringing the "white man's" economic drive and values to the region. Completion of the Northern Pacific was a moment in time when the romantic past of free roaming tribes and fur trappers stood side by side with the industrial future. The occasion offered both a sense of loss with the wild and free, and a promise of a bountiful but disciplined future. The financial disaster overhanging the NP also drove Villard to make the Last Spike event a grand celebration of the past and of the promise of what was to come.

The Northern Pacific constructed a wooden pavilion seating 1,000 from which its guests could watch the ceremonies in comfort. An estimated 3,000 to 5,000 uninvited spectators--ranchers, cowhands, Indians, miners and railroad workers looked on from the rocky hillsides. The program included speeches, champagne, introduction of a horse that had worked every mile of the route from Duluth, Minnesota, and the laying (actually re-laying) of the last 1,000 feet of track by 300 track workers. The final spike was hammered home by the man who had driven the first NP spike near Duluth a little over ten years earlier.[20] There was an artillery salute, and the Fifth Infantry Band played the bandmaster's own composition for the occasion, "Grand Triumphal March, The Iron Horse."[21]

Spectacular and successful as had been the celebration at Gold Creek, both Smalley and Villard recognized the need for a sustained program to build stable communities across the NP's vast land grant acreage. The biggest obstacle facing them was public ignorance of the Northwest's potential. With the Northern Pacific's financial problems exacerbated by a nationwide decline in business activity, the options were fast dwindling. Earlier in 1883, the NP had purchased the *New Northwest*, a four-page newspaper published in Philadelphia by Joseph Creamer since 1877. In a time of rosier business conditions, the Northern Pacific planned to continue the renamed *Northwest* as its own magazine. Smalley had edited the *Northwest* in addition to his other duties since January, 1883.

Like Villard, Smalley anticipated the financial crisis looming over the NP in the summer of 1883. After the Last Spike celebration, NP employees were laid off and expenses cut to the bone. Smalley warned NP executives the last thing they could afford was elimination of a magazine whose purposes included articles ". . . to get settlers in our region to increase the traffic of the road."[22]

Instead of discontinuing the *Northwest*, the NP sold the magazine to Smalley for a nominal $200. Smalley took over the magazine as his personal venture with the Northern Pacific agreeing to purchase 10,000 copies of the *Northwest* monthly at a price that would assure him a fair commercial profit. The magazine's theme was to remain as he had pledged in its first issue ". . . a newspaper devoted to chronicling the growth of the region and describing its characteristic scenery, life and undeveloped resources."[23] In return for its subsidization, the Northern Pacific received free advertising space. Smalley also was to prepare any pamphlets or other promotional material the Northern Pacific might require at customary commercial rates.[24]

The arrangement promised to work well for both parties. As a semi-independent publication the *Northwest* was sheltered from corporate whims and budget cutting. For Smalley, already a convinced promoter of the Northwest region, the subsidy meant a base of support. The results of advertising solicitation and circulation revenues--beyond the copies purchased by the NP--were Smalley's responsibility and his opportunity.[25]

Smalley continued editing the magazine from the Northern Pacific's New York offices until June 1884 when he moved to St. Paul. The *Northwest* was an illustrated magazine that arrived in its bright orange cover announcing its devotion ". . . to Western Interests and Development." The *Northwest* had two equally important purposes: (1) To promote the growth and stability of communities in the states traversed by the Northern Pacific. (2) To create public awareness of the Northwest's opportunities in order to encourage the growth and stability of communities in the region. Villard had already established that the chief source of newcomers should be the northern midwestern states, the northeast and northern Europe. In an era that believed in stereotypes, Smalley followed Villard's guidance in aiming his magazine's message at the farmer discouraged by the rocky soils of New England, the upstate New Yorker looking westward as well as the Scandinavian newcomers poised to leave their initial American homes in Minnesota, Wisconsin or Iowa for more spacious lands in the Northwest.[26]

Northerners were inherently more industrious, according to popular notion. People from warmer, southern climates were indolent and less able to adapt to the Northwest's weather and agriculture. Thus, the *Northwest* aimed its overseas immigration appeal at residents of the British Isles, Germany, Norway, Denmark and Sweden. There was no effort to recruit immigrants from France, the Balkans or any Mediterranean countries.

The *Northwest* as a magazine was adaptable to the recruiting efforts in Europe. A bulk supply of the first issue edited by Smalley, January, 1883, was sent to the railroad's immigration agents in Great Britain. Appealing to English and Scotch farmers, an editorial declared:

> What, then, is the wise course for the Englishman or Scotchman, in view of his own interests and those of his children? Evidently, to go where grain and cattle can be raised to the best advantage. If he has a few hundred pounds, he can at once become an independent land owner in America. In the old home he must always be in some sort the servant of a landlord. In America he can be a free citizen, and himself lord of the acres he tills, beholden to no man for his home and sharing with no man the fruits of his toil.[27]

The place to find a new home in America was the Northern Pacific Land Office, the article made clear. The Northern Pacific offered to immigrants an ". . . immense belt of country . . . whether you like prairies, or rolling uplands, or winding valleys, or mountain nooks, or great forests, or the shores of salt water bays, or the margins of mighty rivers."[28]

The magazine's masthead carried a regular note that the magazine was available to subscribers in Great Britain for five schillings a year in advance. The NP Land Office expense records also show the January and the February, 1889 issues were translated into German (15,000 copies), Swedish (31,000 copies) and Norwegian (34,000 copies).[29]

As a magazine, the *Northwest* enjoyed special advantages abroad. Few nations welcomed the recruitment of their citizens for immigration to the US, least of all Germany. There the sales of American railroad tickets or the distribution of immigration folders or land promotion materials were prohibited. The *Northwest*, however, could be given to prospective immigrants without arousing the suspicion of zealous officials; its primary thrust was progress in the Northwest not land sales. One article skillfully contrasted life on a cramped Prussian farm to the opportunities offered in spacious North Dakota. Better to enjoy "fried chicken on Sunday and an egg in the morning" than the dreary diet of "herring and potatoes" endured by mortgage-burdened farmers in Germany, the article declared.[30]

The immigration agent system, the channel through which the *Northwest* reached many readers, functioned in Europe and America in the same way. Subagents gave free copies of the magazine to prospective immigrants, and passed on the names and addresses of recipients to general agents. When tickets were purchased through the general agents, the sub-agents received a small commission.

It was the lively and varied contents of the *Northwest* combined with its promotional content that made the magazine successful. By June 1884 when Smalley moved the *Northwest* from New York to St. Paul, he claimed 13,000 circulation monthly. That was already 3,000 above the subsidy level of copies paid for by the Northern Pacific.[31]

Smalley brought to the *Northwest* the skills of a veteran newspaper reporter and editor. In addition, as an Ohio native reared on a farm in the midwest he understood what readers and prospective immigrants wanted to know about the still mysterious Northwest. As a result, the *Northwest* offered its readers not only the basic guidebook facts, but entertaining and occasionally exciting reading about the northwestern region. All of the *Northwest's* items carried messages that sustained both the mood and the flavor of the striking changes that were overtaking the Northwest territories and states.

Selling farms--preferably from the NP's land grants--was just one of the magazine's concerns. Articles in the *Northwest* were devoted consistently to soil fertility, weather, crop innovations and farming methods. But Smalley's eye for the unusual and the entertaining kept these reports newsy and lively when they could have been repetitious. He reported the experiences of a single, ex-Illinois school ma'am in successfully homesteading 320 acres in Dakota Territory, and her call to single school teachers to try Northwest farming. She wrote: ". . . I am sure they will be happier, richer, wiser, and stand a better show of getting married."[32] Irrigated farming, a novelty to many eastern and midwestern farmers, was a frequent subject of *Northwest* articles as were the intricacies of cattle ranching. Hop growing, wine grapes and tobacco were other northwestern crops that made the *Northwest* must reading for farmers. What farmer could resist illustrations from the Yakima, Washington, County Fair that showed the fifty-four-pound watermelons, cornstalks eleven-feet high and cabbages weighing forty-three pounds that had grown on the same irrigated land producing five varieties of peaches and nine varieties of apples.

Another frequent *Northwest* topic was weather. There was a healthful climate in all of the Northwest from Minnesota to Washington and Oregon, according to the *Northwest* magazine. To a weak-lunged New England physician, Smalley recommended ranching in a Montana valley as a sure cure. He reassured readers that malaria was virtually unknown in the Northwest. Smalley described Tacoma's climate on Puget Sound as oderated by the Japan current. "Spring comes early and the flowers are in bloom in February and March. The summers are cool, the warmth of the days being tempered by the sea breezes and by the western winds cooled by blowing across snowy peaks," he wrote.[33]

Smalley recognized there was a certain sameness about each issue of the *Northwest*. As the magazine entered its tenth year under his editorship, he said he was often asked:

> 'Well, you have illustrated and described pretty much all the towns, mountains, rivers, valleys, mining districts, forest regions, farming countries and cattle ranges in the Northwest, and have pictured every phase of Northwest life. Haven't you exhausted the field?' No, we do not intend to quit. We intend to keep on.[34]

Smalley listed two reasons for the *Northwest's* continued promotion of the Northwest. There was still plenty of room for further development in the Northwest states. "In every one of them there are multiform opportunities for men of pluck and industry to make for themselves pleasant homes and to earn a comfortable living." The second reason, Smalley added, was the success of the *Northwest* as "a welcome visitor" bringing into the homes of subscribers "a batch of interesting reading once a month between the orange covers of the *Northwest Magazine*."[35]

Perhaps, the *Northwest* owed its success to the liveliness with which it delivered its continuing message of Northwest opportunity by mixing humor and anecdote with an occasional warning that all that glitters is not gold--not even in the Northwest. Smalley pointed out to land seekers that it would take experience and some capital to make a successful farm in the Northern Pacific belt. "We do not advise young men to emigrate to the Northwest who have no trade and no capital to start in business and who are not accustomed to hard work," he editorialized.[36] In the Northwest's "Questions and Answers" department, however, there was always a restrained enthusiasm hinting that those heading for the Northwest should do so before the opportunities of a lifetime were snapped up by others.

Stories of Northwest newcomers achieving rapid prominence were standard items in the magazine's pages from the beginning of Smalley's editorship. The Puget Sound hop grower who in a year cleared over $3,000 from four acres was a commonplace example. Or the Dakota homesteader whose determination had created a farm worth $2,000 from $200 and five years of toil. To these examples of the Northwest's productivity, Editor Smalley occasionally added a lighter note. He reported the debate between Yakima Valley and Pasco, Washington, farmers over whose soil was the most fertile. Yakima adherents pointed to the huge watermelons from their valley as evidence of its soil's richness. Pasco boosters admitted Yakima melons were larger than theirs. But they had an explanation. Pasco's soil was so fertile everything grew too rapidly. The result was Pasco melons were worn small when they were dragged over the ground by their fast growing vines.

Illustrations became a significant part of the *Northwest* when Smalley took over the publication from the Northern Pacific in December, 1883. "Each number is abundantly illustrated," he noted in announcing his $1 a year subscription pric noted in ing issues of the magazine lived up to his claim. Artists worked from photographs to produce spectacular line drawings of Tacoma's harbor dominated by 14,000-foot Mt. Rainier. City street scenes, a favorite *Northwestern* illustration, showed the region's busy commercial life.

Much of the *Northwest's* material came from newspapers throughout the region. As an ex-newsman, Smalley was on friendly terms with editors from Minnesota to Washington. He shrewdly reprinted articles about projects and Northwest successes from Northwest newspapers. And newspapers often reprinted items credited to the *Northwest*. At the Washington Press Association's 1889 meeting in Tacoma, Smalley addressed the editors and was elected an honorary member.[38]

The magazine's regular departments offered variety. "Questions and Answers" responded to reader inquiries about such specifics as land availability, wages and the best time to move to the Northwest. "Glimpses of Western Life" was a potpourri of anecdote, humor and pathos. "Northwestern Notes" included short items stressing the economic growth and vitality of the Northwest. The "Home Interests" page offered scientific news such as why atoms vibrate and "How to Save Doctor's Bills."[39] There were also articles that appealed to women's interests such the latest fads for girls.[40]

The magazine also commissioned major articles from Northwest writers and carried fiction and poetry as its finances dictated. Among its better known authors were Bret Harte and Joaquin Miller. But Smalley himself was the stalwart of the *Northwest's* writers. His editorials tackled such weighty topics as the prospects for statehood of the Northwest territories in the wake of the Republican victory in November, 1888. He was confident four new states would emerge.[41] Smalley was no armchair editor. He traveled regularly the region to which his magazine was devoted.

As editor of the *Northwest* he began covering his beat in earnest in 1884 "in new journeys on horseback, in wagons, in stage coaches and in skiffs and canoes as well as by rail and steamboat."[42] The next year Smalley made a three-month tour of the Northern Pacific's lines in a freshly painted caboose equipped with bunks and tables. An artist, a stenographer and a railroad business agent shared those cramped quarters with him. Every year thereafter Smalley made at least one pilgrimage west courtesy of the NP. By 1886 the railroad supplied him with a rebuilt passenger coach divided into a dinning room, office space and sleeping quarters. In 1888, Smalley's wife and family accompanied the *Northwest's* editor on the journey. In the 1890s the

NP gave Smalley one of its business cars for his annual reconnaissance.

The novelty of a magazine edited from a wandering and occasionally sidetracked railroad car appealed to Smalley's news sense. He had an artist sketch the car for the magazine's stationer letterhead. "There is a pleasant sense of excitement about daily of scenes and environment," Smalley wrote of his travels.[43] But he also admitted, "To live six weeks in a car and be on the move much of the time is not an unmixed pleasure. The noise and jar wear on the nerves and there are hot days and long stretches of dusty, uninteresting road."[44]

The *Northwest* was at its zenith in the late 1880s and the first two years of the 1890s. The Northern Pacific had no rival on the northern transcontinental route. Immigrants from Europe and America looked eagerly toward the Northwest. Cities of the Pacific Northwest prospered and grew from villages into urban centers. Millions of acres of NP lands as well as government lands were still open to settlement.

The turning point came in 1893. The Great Northern Railroad was completed to Seattle over lower grades and a sturdier roadbed to end the NP's transportation dominance in the region. The financial panic of the same year plunged the NP once more into bankruptcy. The railroad cut off its subsidies to the *Northwest* magazine. The business depression also slowed population growth in the Northwest.

The Northwest itself, however, was no longer the mysterious and unknown region it had been when the Northern Pacific was first completed. Two railroads now crossed the Northern tier of states. Seattle had rebounded from the disastrous 1889 fire which destroyed most of its downtown to become the dominant port on Puget Sound. Other Pacific Northwest cities such as Portland, Tacoma and Spokane showed enduring growth. The frontier image of the Northwest that Smalley captured in his 1882 travels faded. The *Northwest* certified the hard times the region experienced along with the rest of the nation. It still identified opportunities for professional people, businesses and investors. Irrigation development in the fertile valleys of eastern Washington also became a new interest for the *Northwest* magazine in the 1890s. Irrigation favored the production of specialty crops such as fruits and berries. This intensive kind of agriculture encouraged stable communities and a larger work force than the staple commodities such as grain or cattle.

Smalley plunged into the Sunnyside irrigation project in the lower Yakima Valley in 1894, bartering advertising in the *Northwest* for five Sunnyside plots.[45] The *Northwest* featured Sunnyside irrigation canals and first orchards in the February, 1894 issue, but bankruptcy overtook the irrigation company that year, and the *Northwest's* orchards never materialized before Smalley's death in December, 1899.

Smalley's son and stepson continued the *Northwest* in essentially the same format until 1903. But Smalley's grasp of the region's interests and his belief in the purposes the magazine served were missing. The magazine was published from Chicago, starting in 1904 as a general interest publication, and quickly perished.[46]

CONCLUSIONS:

The *Northwest* magazine contents are strong evidence that this magazine served as much more than an advertisement to lure immigrants to the Northern Pacific's lands. Most of its articles--the progress of cities as well as the expanding commercial and industrial opportunities there--were aimed at the audience already resident in the Northwest. To become a viable part of the nation's economy, the Northwest had to hold as well as attract newcomers. Nothing would have been more devastating to the region's prospects than a steady reverse migration of disgruntled, short time residents. Smalley's own investments in Northwest property demonstrated his faith in the magazine's purpose.

The *Northwest* magazine aimed at the permanent, long term development of the region, not momentary gain from immigrant advertising or guidebook advice. This later aspect of the *Northwest*, suggested by Mickelson and Duin, represented only one phase of the magazine's personality.

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NOTES

1. "Our Programme," *Northwest*, January, 1883, p. 8.

2. The *New West Illustrated* was distributed through railroad ticket agents, and claimed in Volume I, No. 1, January, 1879, "16,000 guaranteed circulation in states east of the Missouri" as well as 5,000 circulation in the Rocky Mountain area.

3. Another successful railroad publication that followed in the *Northwest's* footsteps was the Southern Pacific's *Sunset*, started in San Francisco in 1898.

4. "E. V. Smalley Is Called By Death," St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, December 30, 1899.

5. Siegfried Mickelson, "Promotional Activities of the Northern Pacific's Land and Immigration Departments, 1670 to 1902," Master's Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1940, pp. 59-64.

6. Edgar C. Duin, "Settlers' Periodical: Eugene Smalley and the Northwest Magazine," *Minnesota History*, 33:1, Spring, 1952, p. 29.

7. Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1885-1905*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 104.

8. Eugene V. Smalley, "Recollections of a Man of Fifty," *Northwest*, June, 1891 through September, 1893.

9. Northern Pacific advertisement, *The Northwest*, February, 1883, p. 16.

10. Eugene V. Smalley, "The New North-West," *Century*, August, 1882, pp. 504-12; September, 1882, pp. 769-79; October, 1882, pp. 863-72; and "Features of the New North-West," February, 1883, pp. 529-37.

11. Smalley, "The New North-West," *Century*, September, 1882, p. 769.

12. *Ibid.*, August, 1882, p. 506.

13. Smalley, "Recollections of the Northwest," *Northwest*, June, 1898, p. 19; July 1898, p. 23; December, 1898, p. 16.

14. Smalley, "The New North-West," *Century*, October, 1882, p. 872.

15. *Ibid.*, August, 1882, p. 510.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 336.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 359.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 362.

19. The Northern Pacific received 12,500 acres per mile of track constructed in states, and 25,000 acres per mile in Territories. The total grant was estimated at about 46 million acres.

20. The first strike against the last spike was supposed to complete a Western Union telegraph circuit, sending word of the NP's completion. This was the signal for cannon firing and bell ringing celebrations in St. Paul, Chicago, New York, Boston and Portland. At the instant the sledge hit the spike, a lightning strike on a telegraph pole near Billings broke the circuit. Word of the last spike reached remote points two hours later instead

of instantaneously. See Paul Fugleberg, "Final Spike at Gold Creek," *True West*, 34:10 (October, 1987), p. 27.

[21] "The Last Spike Driven," *Northwest*, September, 1883, pp. 13-14.

[22] Smalley to Thomas Oakes, NP Railway Co. Records, November 1, 1883.

[23] "Our Programme," *Northwest*, January, 1883, p. 8.

[24] Mickelson, pp. 62-64.

[25] Strahorn's *New West Illustrated* for the Union Pacific at Omaha continued from 1879 through 1881. The *New West*, a newspaper format publication similar in content to Strahorn's and also subsidized by the Union Pacific, was published from Denver by Henry James in 1884. According to Carrie A. Strahorn in *Fifteen Thousand Miles By Stage*, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), Strahorn continued as a guidebook writer and development representative for the Union Pacific after he ended his connection with the *New West Illustrated*.

[26] Henry Villard, *Early History of Transportation in Oregon*, (Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 1944), p. 49.

[27] "To English Farmers," *Northwest*, January, 1883, p.8.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] Expense Ledger, 1889, Land Office, NP Railway Co. Records, Minnesota Historical Society.

[30] *Northwest*, March, 1883, pp. 5-6.

[31] Editorial, *Northwest*, June, 1884,

[32] "An Illinois School Ma'am in Dakota," *Northwest*, May, 1884, p. 4.

[33] "North Yakima," *Northwest*, May, 1889, p. 31.

[34] "A Talk With Our Readers," *Northwest*, January, 1894, p. 38.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *Ibid.*, June, 1884, p. 10.

[37] "Prospectus for *The Northwest* for 1884," *Northwest*, December, 1883, p. 9.

[38] "The Editors Arrive," Tacoma *Ledger*, August 15, 1889, p. 3.

[39] "Home Interests," *Northwest*, October, 1889, p. 10; "How to Save Doctors' Bills, November, 1889, p. 15.

[40] "Home Interests," *Northwest*, August, 1889, p. 10.

[41] "Four New Northwestern States," *Northwest*, November, 1888, p. 26.

[42] "The *Northwest* on Wheels," *Northwest*, August, 1888, p. 23.

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] Letter from E. V. Smalley to Paul Schulze, NP Railway Co. Records, February 9, 1894.

[46] Mott, p. 104.

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Catholics, the Catholic Press and Communism:
From Recognition to Cold War

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"No alliance With Atheism," shrieked the January, 1943 edition of The Catholic World. Reacting to a recent speech by Vice-President Henry Wallace which called on Americans to increase cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, Father James Gillis, editor of The Catholic World, asserted that there was "not a vestige of similarity between the U. S. and Russia." America is a God-fearing democracy, while Russia, under its system of "atheistic communism," is a communistic, totalitarian state. The two systems, the priest contended, "are absolutely irreconcilable." While he reluctantly conceded that the current military alliance was unavoidable, and perhaps even convenient for both powers, he refused to accept the current vogue of "please-be-polite-to-our-gallant-allies." "Communism," he told his Catholic readers, "at home and abroad was, is and will be a threat, a menace and an evil to American ideals and our way of life."[1]

Was the opinion of Father Gillis simply an isolated outburst from an hysterical anti-Soviet priest, or did it represent an accurate expression of American-Catholic opinion of the Soviet Union during World War II? Did Catholics reject the wartime media blitz in the United States that projected an image of Soviet leaders, the Soviet government and the Russian people as basically similar to the American leaders, government and people? If so, why did American Catholics stand outside the change in American public opinion that has been so well documented? Does the position of the Catholic church toward communism and the Soviet Union help explain the rapidity with which the American media and public opinion switched from positive to negative feeling toward a wartime ally?

Historians have documented the incredible role the media played during World War II in changing the popular image of the Soviet Union and its leaders from godless totalitarians to democratic allies. Newspapers, popular magazines, Hollywood movies, radio programs, Broadway plays and even staid conservative business journals presented

Americans with a new Russia.[2] Stalin, seen as a blood-thirsty brute before America's entry into the war, emerged in the wartime American media as a wise, insightful, gentle and kindly man. The pre-war tyrant became "Uncle Joe" whose smiling face beamed at Americans from the covers of Life, Time and their daily newspapers with regularity.[3] Life and Survey Graphic devoted entire issues to Russia, which reassured Americans that the Soviet Union was no longer an aggressive "communist" country but an "evolutionary democracy" which would soon feature complete freedom of speech and religion. Stalin, like FDR, the media preached, headed a popular government which enjoyed the full support of the people.

Soviet historians have also noted the impact of this era of good-will exhibited in the United States and the Soviet Union during "The Great Patriotic War." Vladimir V. Pozniakov, in his paper on the American mass media, stressed that favorable opinion toward the Soviet Union cut across economic lines with both American business leaders and American workers holding a favorable view of their Russian ally.[4] Boris A. Gilenson, in his paper on the Russian press, wrote that American journalists in Russia had a positive influence on Soviet audiences.[5]

Public opinion polls taken during the war indicate that the media's campaign to alter the image of the Soviet Union had an impact. In November, 1939 one-third of the American people considered the Soviet Union, not Germany, the greatest threat to American security. With the alliance this negative began to slowly erode. Asked if they trusted the Soviet Union, only 39 percent of a Gallup poll sample answered yes in March 1942. When the Germans surrendered at Stalingrad, the same question produced a favorable response from 46 percent of those polled. By the end of 1943 the percentage willing to trust the Soviet Union had risen to 51 percent and it remained close to that figure for the rest of the war. On the surface it appears that there was a dramatic shift in American public opinion.[6]

Yet public opinion polls register negative, as well as positive, opinion. In 1943, the height of American-Soviet friendship, 27 percent of the American people expressed a negative opinion of the Soviet Union. More than one American in four distrusted Soviet intentions despite the onslaught of movies, radio programs, newspaper and magazine articles trumpeting Soviet successes. The American propaganda agency, Office of War Information, took its own poll in June 1943 of American attitudes toward Russia and confirmed the Gallup results. When OWI asked whether Britain or Russia was most likely to leave the war as soon as Germany was defeated, only 17 percent predicted that Britain would drop out; a whopping 62 percent believed the Russians would desert. When asked what England and Russia wanted out of the war, 36 percent said England want only "peace and freedom" while a mere 17 percent identified that goal with the Soviets.[7]

What emerges from the various public opinion polls taken during the war is that while a small majority of the American people looked more favorably upon the Soviet Union, a large, steady, and often vocal, minority continued to view Stalin, the Soviet Union and communism with deep suspicion, if not outright distrust. Skepticism and dire warnings about Soviet intentions flowed from the Hearst and McCormick newspapers and from the pens of writers like William Henry Chamberlin, Eugene Lyons, Louis Fischer, Max Eastman and John Dewey.[8] Yet, "most American observers carefully refrained from criticizing the Soviet Union while the war was on" and accepted the alliance, cautioning only that America policy be based firmly on self interest, not self delusion.[9] Or as Georgia editor more succinctly put it: "I'd be willing to fight alongside the Devil himself to win the war."[10]

While most Americans agreed, the hierarchy of the American Catholic church and its press resisted this wartime view of America's ally in the ideological struggle against fascism. Catholics represented a large and vocal segment of minority opinion in America which expressed, not only reservations about the probability of post-war cooperation, but had grave doubts about the wartime alliance itself. As John Gaddis, a prominent Cold War historian has noted: "the hierarchy of the Catholic Church constituted the most vocal center of skepticism regarding Soviet ideological intentions."[11]

This paper will examine the attitude of the Catholic hierarchy and Catholic press toward communism and the wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union. The hostile position taken by the Catholic church toward the Soviet Union during the war was seen by many as unpatriotic--perhaps even as supportive of fascism. By late 1945, however, American opinion was swinging rapidly to an anti-Soviet position and American Catholics were in the forefront of the emerging Cold War hostility toward communism. The Catholic church was able to present itself to the larger American public as a long time foe of communism and as patriotic Americans prepared to battle a dangerous ideological enemy.

On the eve of World War II there were approximately 21,000,000 American Catholics in the United States. Organized into 103 dioceses in the United States Catholic opinion was circulated throughout the United States by a Catholic press which boasted a combined circulation of more than four million readers. It was led by The Catholic World, the intellectual Paulist monthly which was founded by Isaac Hecker in 1865 and edited during the 30s and 40s by "feisty" Father James M. Gillis. Founded by the Jesuits in 1904, America was the leading Catholic weekly dedicated to social, political, and literary commentary. Commonweal was the lay counterpart to America. An independent journal established in 1924, Commonweal was urbane, sophisticated and often at odds with church policy. It was edited by George Schuster whose liberal editorials often found displeasure within the church. The journal branded Father Charles E. Coughlin a demagogue, lost a quarter of its subscribers when it refused to endorse Franco and during the war was almost alone in offering favorable comment about the Soviet Union. That position led to the banning of church lobby sales. An ideological brethren of Commonweal was Dorothy's Day's The Catholic Worker. Published in New York, the newspaper enjoyed a circulation of 100,000 and advocated a "spiritual" alternative to unions, capitalism and communism.

Other Catholic journals included Notre Dame's Sign, Fordam's Thought and for those who wished their theology in condensed form, Catholic Digest. Most dioceses also had a newspaper and the church ran a national Catholic news bureau in Washington that supplied a Catholic slant to national and international news and with syndicated opinion columns. The leading Catholic paper was Our Sunday Visitor, published in Huntington, Indiana, which was distributed nationally with a circulation of over 650,000. The Brooklyn Tablet, the Denver Register, the Michigan Catholic, and New World of Chicago were Catholic newspapers which often took independent stands on important issues. With the exception of Commonweal and The Catholic Worker, all Catholic publications were tightly controlled by the clergy.

Heavily concentrated in the northeastern section of the United States, Catholics were urban, working class and democratic. They lived in an America separated by class, race and religion. Largely ethnic, Catholics were isolated from the white Protestant majority. They were often born, raised, educated, married and buried in a Catholic environment. The isolation of Catholics from Protestant America bred suspicion, distrust and outright hatred. From the virulent hatred of the Know-Nothing party in the 1850s to the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, Catholics were often portrayed as disloyal group controlled by a foreign potentate, the Pope, who plotted for a Roman America. While this view fueled hysterical anti-Catholic propaganda in the KKK, at one level or another it was believed by millions of Protestants. This issue exploded into national politics in 1928 when Al Smith, a New York Catholic, ran for the presidency on the Democratic ticket against Protestant, Republican Herbert Hoover. Smith's Catholicism became the issue in the campaign for millions of voters. An article in the Atlantic raised the issue of Catholic "dual allegiance," and from the plains of Kansas William Allen White warned voters that : "The whole Puritan civilization which has built a sturdy, orderly nation is threatened by Smith."[12] Smith was not able to separate his religion from his politics and suffered a humiliating defeat.

The overwhelming defeat of Smith left Catholics feeling more isolated than ever within an increasingly hostile America. The sudden and dramatic impact of the depression and the growing appeal of dual forces of communism and fascism forced the Catholic church to redefine its position on social justice. Catholics recognized the appeal of communism which promised workers a classless society with full employment, housing and self-respect. Perhaps in recognition, or fear, of the infatuation of communism some forty years earlier Pope Leo XIII had issued *Rerum Novarum* (1891) which encouraged workers to unionize and demanded that government's act to redistribute wealth and protect the rights of every citizen.[13]

In the United States the Catholic bishops were slow to react to Pope Leo's appeal. Not until the end of World War I with the rise of communism in Russia and its appeal to Catholic workers in the United States did the bishops react. "The Bishops Program for Social Reconstruction" (1919) drafted by Father John Ryan and adopted by the entire hierarchy called for minimum-wage laws, equal pay for women, profit sharing for workers, the abolition of child labor laws, free medical care for all workers, and a graduated income tax. The document was so "radical" that the American Association of Manufactures accused the bishops of being "socialists." Many of the bishops agreed. Little action was taken and except for a few activist priests the program for social action was largely forgotten during the following decade.[14]

When Pope Pius XI issued his 1931 encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* (On Reconstructing the Social Order) which called on Catholics to support and work for such social issues as unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, health insurance, public housing, and labor unions it struck a responsive cord in the American hierarchy. Deeply concerned about the impact that the national depression was having on a Catholic population that was largely urban and working class, the hierarchy warmly endorsed the 1932 political platform of the Democratic candidate for president, Franklin D. Roosevelt.[15].

Cardinal George Mundelein of Chicago, Cardinal Patrick Hayes of New York, Cardinal William O'Connell of Boston, Cardinal William Dougherty of Philadelphia, Archbishop John McNicholas of Cincinnati, Archbishop Michael J. Curley of Baltimore and Bishop John Cantwell of Los Angeles urged Catholics to vote for FDR, which they did in huge numbers. When FDR was swept into office the Catholic press was ecstatic. Most effusive of all was Extension which claimed that "Almighty God raised up FDR--the Apostle of the New Deal." Cardinal Mundelein was more circumspect when he told a national Catholic conference that FDR was "more friendly . . . to the Church and its institutions than any occupant of the White House in half a century." The appointment of two prominent Catholics to the Roosevelt cabinet, James A Farley as postmaster general and Thomas J. Walsh as attorney general, confirmed Mundelein's assessment.

Catholics felt betrayed when FDR moved toward diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union. The Catholic lay organization, The Knights of Columbus, editorialized in its journal Columbia that Russia "does not merit the recognition of any civilized people." America concurred: "we cannot trust . . . Russia." Resolutions condemning the action were passed by Catholic organizations nation-wide and over 600,000 signatures in protest of FDR's plan were collected in Massachusetts. Bishop Joseph Schrembs of Cleveland articulated what was on all Catholic minds and would become the litmus test as far as Catholics were concerned with all future dealings with the Soviet Union. Schrembs demanded that before recognition be extended the administration force the communist government which "officially denies God, officially scoffs at God" be forced to "promise liberty of conscience and of religious worship to its citizens and that it cease its active communistic propaganda." The Vatican expressed the same hope that the United States would hold the club of "religious freedom" to the Soviets before extending the carrot of recognition.[16]

Catholics were so concerned about communism because to them it represented much more than just another economic or political theory that challenged the role of the church in a given society. Communism, Catholics were told, was not a mere attack on bricks and mortar or flesh and blood. Nor was it simply an alternative economic philosophy to industrial capitalism. It was, rather, an entire "philosophy of life" which denied the very existence of a spiritual soul in man, of salvation and of God. , Father John LaFarge, editor of America during the war, wrote that communism was "the revolution against God."[17] The Homiletic and Pastoral Review, a journal for Catholic priests, labeled communism "a distorted messianic ideal" which can be considered "the heir of all preceding errors."[18] It was heresy. It was a false "religion."

Yet no amount of Catholic protest could stop recognition. Roosevelt took care to meet privately with Catholic leaders, including Father Walsh of Georgetown University, and convinced them of his sensitivity toward the issue of religious freedom. As Walsh later wrote of his meeting with the president, FDR's charm had completely disarmed him. The president told the priest: "Leave it to me, Father. I am a good horse trader."[19]

When formal recognition was extended, the Catholic press tried to make the best out of what appeared to be a losing situation. Careful not to appear critical of the president, the immediate press reaction was surprisingly effusive over the Soviet concession to guarantee religious freedom for American citizens living in Russia and the promise to stop subversive activities in the United States. Privately, the act of recognition was "deeply regretted" by the bishops who hoped that this "deplorable" act "might eventually lead to freedom of worship for the Russian people themselves."[20] By the end of 1933 a more cautious "wait-and-see" attitude replaced the initial enthusiasm of support. America sarcastically told its readers there was one clear advantage in recognition: "the Department of Labor will be able to ship back to their communist heaven all those alien agitators who disturb the peaceful reconstruction work of the great American community."[21]

To read the Catholic press during the period after recognition of Russia, especially Catholic newspapers, is to understand that the church saw itself under attack by Demonic forces.[22] In Spain, Germany, and Mexico Catholicism was under fire. The Spanish Civil War again pointed out the separation between Catholic and Protestant America. For liberals and Protestants the issue was democracy vs. fascism and wholehearted support of the Loyalist cause. For Catholics the issue was Catholicism. They saw the church threatened by the communist dominated Loyalist and threw their support to the forces of General Franco. In a propaganda campaign that followed, Catholics were seen as supporting Nazism and fascism.[23] In Mexico, liberals and Protestants ignored the attack on the church, while Catholics reacted with rage as churches were destroyed and bishops, priests, nuns and worshippers tortured and killed. Fictionalized in Graham Greene's poignant account of anti-clericalism in Mexico, The Power and the Glory captured the intensity of anti-religious forces at work and the spiritual determination of believers to resist. Yet nowhere, in Catholic eyes, was the threat to religion greater than in the Soviet Union. No "ism" was more feared than communism. No "ism" more denounced in the Catholic press than communism.

It came as no surprise when in 1937 Pope Pius XI issued his encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* (On Atheistic Communism) which condemned communism as "intrinsically wrong and no one who would save Christian civilization may give it assistance in any undertaking whatsoever." Catholics were forbidden from any cooperation with communists or communism "even for worthy causes."[24] American Catholics rallied to the cause of war against modern heresy. The Knights of Columbus held rallies on both coasts which called for a crusade against the cancerous growth which was "eating the vitals of society."[25] America considered the papal declaration a clarion call to arms. The Pope, the journal wrote, had issued a "summons to . . . the service of Christ Himself."[26]

While the encyclical admonished Catholics against "Red-baiting" and encouraged Catholics to work for social reforms that would undercut the appeal of communism among the world's poor, those aspects of the encyclical were lost to most

American Catholics who went "red-hunting" with the diligence of a religious zealot[27] Only Dorothy Day's The Catholic Worker seemed immune when it urged Catholics to "forget the negative ideal of fighting communism and concentrate on building up the Mystical Body of Christ."[28] Day worked with and lived with the urban poor. A flood of clerical and press criticism followed. "Subversive," screamed one priest in reply.

When the Catholic bishops, for example, issued their statement on communism in November 1937 they pointed, not to poverty and unemployment, but to "left wing professors" and promoters of "peace and youth movements, sponsors of stage and screen entertainment, and so-called crusaders for 'democracy'" for creating an atmosphere for communism in America. The bishops chastised organized labor for accepting communists into their ranks and urged workers and the poor to respect property rights and reject the "omnipotent State."[29] This uniting of liberals and liberalism with communism would dominate Catholic thinking for the next several decades.

Not surprisingly, the Catholic press followed a similar theme. The Homiletic and Pastoral Review told priests that it was not just poverty that caused communism but that: "Liberalism has created a secularistic atmosphere in which communism could flourish."[30] The Reverend Fulton J. Sheen, who would later mesmerize postwar prime-time television audiences with his weekly sermons which blended homilies, theology and anti-communism, assailed those "pink professors of America who teach communism."[31] "Sow Moscow and you reap Spain," he warned. Archbishop John T. McNicholas of Cincinnati wrote in a pastoral letter read at every mass in his diocese that "the liberals, and all generally who wish to be considered broad-minded, have done and are doing much to promote Communism." The Bishop cautioned that American labor unions were also infected with the most "dangerous radical elements." McNicholas, who was the head of the Catholic Legion of Decency, also lashed out at "the press, the radio, the legitimate stage, the moving picture, ephemeral literature, leaflets, lectures and textbooks" which "have been and are being employed in a subtle manner" in promoting communism in America.[32] In

New York the Catholic Legion of Decency turned from investigating "immoral" movies to identifying movie "reds." The Legion named names. On its list in 1938 were Clifford Odets, John Howard Lawson, William Dieterle, Paul Muni, James Cagney, Jean Muir, Donald Ogden Steward, Henry Fonda, and Lewis Milestone.[33] Communists, it seems, were everywhere.

Archbishop Michael J. Curley of Baltimore certainly believed it. He once remarked that while "a study of the life of St. Paul is always absorbing, the most practical question of the hour is communism." In 1936 he issued his first public blast. Speaking at the Washington Monument to a Holy Name Society gathering of over 20,000 he labeled communism "the most dangerous of all heresies." He told a fellow bishop "It [communism] is well organized and has entered the ranks of the working man, of the CCC Camps, of Government Departments and only God knows where it has not gone with its deceptive programs and its promises of heaven on earth. It is a godless, soulless thing why American workers are attracted to it I do not know."[34]

The point of all this is that on the eve of World War II the hierarchy of the American Catholic church was staunchly, fanatically, even blindly, anti-communist. Liberals of all hues were cast in the communist mold in the Catholic mind. Liberal causes such as civil rights, labor unions, public housing, anti child labor laws, equal pay for women, those very issues that two popes had urged support for, and the bishops had supported in 1919, were seen by 1939 as mere props for communists who were bent on world conquest. When they looked abroad, the hierarchy saw world chaos, the very existence of a moral world under attack--the cause was communism, not fascism, in their view. When they looked internally, they saw liberals and communists subverting America. The intellectuals, the "smart set" according to McNicholas, who challenged the status quo, who flaunted traditional moral values, and who questioned the "glory of their traditions" have set the table for communism.[35]

Catholic laity was given a constant diet of anti-communism. At church on Sunday, in their newspapers and magazines and in school textbooks communism was identified with the devil. "Anti-Communism Is Not Enough" claimed a typical article in The Catholic Mind.[36] FDR's "Four Freedoms" speech in January of that year was taken literally as a pledge to force all world governments to recognize the legitimacy of God. The second freedom became the first goal of the Catholic hierarchy. As America drifted toward war, Catholics had naturally viewed such events as the Nazi-Soviet Pact with a smug "I told you so" attitude. Yet as Catholics knew full well, politics and war make strange bedfellows. When Hitler turned his panzer divisions eastward toward Moscow in June 1941, the possibility of a "pact with the devil" loomed disturbingly on the horizon. A full page advertisement signed by nineteen Baltimore area priests in The Catholic Review summarized Catholic opinion: DON'T LET ANYONE CONFUSE YOU. WE DO NOT, WE WILL NOT, WE CANNOT GRASP THE CRIMSON-STAINED HAND OF JOSEF STALIN."[37]

This is not to imply that Catholics were against the war. They were not. But they were against fighting in alliance with the Russians. Father Gillis editorialized in Catholic World that defending democracy with the help of Stalin and his communist regime would be like "calling in Jesse James or John Dillinger to maintain law and order." Rhetorically he wondered would the United States have "Russia As An Ally?" "God forbid," he answered, because it would be a "Covenant with Hell."[38] Archbishop Francis J. Beckman of Dubuque, Iowa went even further in his criticism when he denounced the idea of aid to the Soviets on a national radio program and further accused FDR of "coddling" to the communists.[39]

Deeply concerned that religious opposition, especially Catholic, would prevent lend-lease aid to Russia, FDR asked Pope Pius XI on September 3, 1941 to ensure that "leaders of all churches in the United States . . . should not by their present attitude on this question directly assist Germany in her present objectives." It would be very helpful, FDR told the Soviet Ambassador, "if Moscow could get some publicity back to this country regarding the freedom of religion [in Russia]."[40]

Then on September 30, 1941, FDR made a tragic blunder. Perhaps hoping to prod the Soviets into issuing a reassuring statement on religion which would deflect criticism of extending aid to the Soviets, FDR explained at a press conference that Russia's constitution guaranteed freedom of religion in much the same way that the American constitution did. He cited article 124 which gave Soviet citizens "freedom of conscience," provided for separation of church and state and guaranteed "freedom of anti-religious propaganda." As FDR explained, it was like going to the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and "standing on a soapbox and preaching Christianity, and nobody would stop you. And then, if it got into your head, perhaps the next day preach against religion of all kinds, and nobody would stop you."[41] The Russian constitution guaranteed the same thing, FDR said.

An anguished torrent of clerical protest reigned down on the astonished president. Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen led the Catholic charge. "Soviet Russia is a gangster nation," he screeched. Sheen challenged the very basis of aid to Russia when he asserted that while Nazism was a greater threat to the external security of American, in his opinion "communism as regards our American way of life . . .is the greater danger." As far as lend-lease for Russia was concerned Sheen was quite willing to "lend them Harry Bridges" and to "lease them Earl Browder" along with "leftist labor groups and four hundred pink professors." Sheen returned to the basic test for Catholic approval of cooperation with Russia when he demanded that the Soviets be forced to grant full religious freedom to all citizens before any aid was extended to them.[42]

The Catholic press followed Sheen's position. The University of Notre Dame's The Ave Maria editorialized that if the government "insists on supplying Stalin with the things that help him to continue his primitive savagery against his own people and against the civilized world it should not try to find sanction for its grants by attributing to Stalin those Christian freedoms which he has persistently and ruthlessly striven to destroy." No whitewash of Stalin would do, the editorial concluded, because "he is so red with blood, not all the seas that beat about Russia can make of him a new, white essence."[43] Less hysterically Commonweal called for a liberation of Russia after the liberation of Germany so that true freedom of religion could be extended to the Russian people.[44] America branded the whole affair as a presidential"boner."[45] Father John LaFarge perhaps best summarized Catholic opinion when he wrote that it was "immaterial" whether or not the Russians or the Germans "work together or devour one another."[46]

The outburst of criticism stung FDR and he instructed Averill Harriman to raise the issue of religious freedom with Stalin. The Soviet leader seemed to understand the predicament of the American president and on October 4, 1941 the Soviets issued a statement which reaffirmed their position that freedom of religion existed in the U.S.S.R. along with the "freedom of anti-religious propaganda."[47]

Typical communist "shadow boxing" countered Father Walsh. "They can't have it both ways," he wrote. If the Soviets want American aid, they have to grant freedom of religion.[48] A poll of Catholic priests revealed the level of animosity. In perhaps the most heavily weighted question ever asked in an opinion poll, Catholic priests were asked: "Are you in favor of the United States aiding the Communistic Russian government?" Not surprisingly, 90% of the clerics gave a ringing No![49]

While few members of the hierarchy had any positive feelings toward the Soviet Union, many were embarrassed by the comments of their colleagues. In an attempt to bring Catholic clerical opinion in line with the administration in the late fall Father Michael Ready of the NCWC and the apostolic delegate to the United States, Archbishop Anleto Giovanni Cicognani urged Archbishop McNicholas to reinterpret *Divini Redemptoris.*. Cicognani explained that the pope would be thankful if this were done, but that he would make no statement of support.[50] McNicholas, who had written a bitting condemnation of communism in 1937, now performed theological contortions when he issued a pastoral letter that claimed that the pope had not intended to restrict "humanitarian aid" from Russia in his 1937 encyclical. Catholics could, therefore, support lend/lease because it would be directed toward the "Russian" people, not the "communist" government. But his fellow bishops refused to accept a "Cincinnati" correction of Rome. Archbishop Curley issued a stinging blast when he granted the Baltimore News-Post an interview in which he warned that Russia would yet bite the hand that fed it. The Archbishop bitterly repeated by now familiar themes when he denounced "these moronic Hollywood 'geniuses,' these scions of millionaire families, these jewel bedecked 'thinkers' in Washington, these university professors, these writers" who had "flopped from one side to the another" at the behest of the "Browder boys." Curley was dismayed that the United States now found itself allied with "the greatest murderers the world has ever known."[51] Archbishop Francis J. Beckman of Dubuque, Iowa cabled his congratulations when he read the interview: "The Christ-haters of Moscow and their international brethren . . may well take note of the Church Militant when we become aroused." Roosevelt, as George Flynn has written, "was no longer listening" to Catholic opinion. He authorized aid to the Soviet Union and when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and the United States was in fact allied with the Soviet Union.[52]

"I had to place myself outside national and international politics and keep quite since Pearl Harbor," Archbishop Curley recalled. A gag order on negative comments about the Soviet Union had been issued from Rome. No matter what their personal opinion of Russia was, Catholic clerics were instructed to make positive public statements, or no statement at all. Most of them remained silent in public. Privately, Curley deplored the "kowtowing to atheistic forces" that took place during the war and turned his anti-communism internally. Curley led the Catholic charge against subversion at home.[53]

While a public gag order was in force against priests and bishops, the Catholic press continued to challenge the wisdom of cooperation with the Soviet Union. The press turned the war into a modern crusade for "freedom of religion." Readers were constantly reminded that there could be no freedom of press, no freedom of expression, no freedom from fear without freedom of religion. "Let Us Campaign for God" Our Sunday Visitor proclaimed in January 1942. Taking that theme for the remainder of the war, the Catholic press dismissed as trivial the dissolution of the Comintern and the seeming restoration of religion in the Soviet Union. It continually warned readers that no permanent peace could ever be established with totalitarian communists as equal partners and moved with increasingly hostility against "fellow-travelers," liberals, dupes and American communists all of whom were lumped together as a common threat to American democracy. In short, the Catholic press refused to accept the image of a "new Russia."[54]

When FDR made his first rumblings toward recognition of the Soviet Union, Catholics demanded that one necessary precondition be the elimination of the Comintern which Catholics had always interpreted to be an international conspiracy against God. When the dissolution of the Third International was announced in May, 1943, it was greeted in the secular press with great fanfare as evidence of growing American-Russian cooperation. "Russia is isolated no longer, said Time. Newsweek cited the dissolution as proof that a cooperative postwar relationship would be possible. The New Republic repeated that theme when it told its readers that the Soviets needed American aid and were willing to sacrifice the Comintern. Stalin's postwar reconstruction needs would ensure continued cooperation.[55]

The Catholic press saw a far different set of reasons for the Soviet actions. "Much ado about nothing," said the Brooklyn Tablet. It was just another of the "labyrinthine turns of complicated Soviet policy."[56] Our Sunday Visitor hoped that the announcement meant that "the communist party here" would follow the example of the Comintern and "disappear." Fulton J. Sheen welcomed the end to "this international form of barbarism" and predicted the establishment of a "Fourth International" as soon as Germany was defeated. Ave Maria hoped for the best but seriously doubted "Stalin's trustworthiness."[57] Even the liberal Commonweal remained suspicious of Soviet intentions. Had Stalin simply decided that "that he cannot have his cake and eat it too," the journal asked?[58]

Nor did the seeming resurgence of the role of religion in Russia pacify Catholic opinion. The secular press bombarded Americans with articles detailing the improved relationship of the Russian Orthodox Church and religion in general in the Soviet Union. The special issue of Survey Graphic in February 1944 was typical. "Spiritual Resurgence in Soviet Russia," was illustrated by a reverent photograph of the Archbishop of York, flanked by the Metropolitan Alexis of Leningrad, the recently elected Patriarch Sergius of Moscow and the Metropolitan Nicolai of Kiev. There has been a "dramatic reversal" of "anti-religious policy" in Russia wrote Helen Iswolsky. The government has put a stop to anti-religious propaganda, suspended publication of Antireligiosnik, and allowed publication of religious materials. Clearly, Iswolsky concluded, "if the evolution continues, we may hope that Soviet Russia will establish complete religious freedom as it exists in America and England."[59] The New Republic agreed when it spotlighted the restoration of the Russian Orthodox Church "to its full measure of pomp and glory." The move was seen as an obvious sop to western religious sensibilities but was also interpreted as another example of the nationalistic revival of interest in Russian history and institutions. "So ends Godlessness," said New Republic.[60] Gardner Cowles, Jr. of OWI, after a visit to the Soviet Union, added that in his opinion "so long as the church remains clearly out of politics . . the violent persecutions are a thing of the past."[61]

Readers of Catholic journals and newspapers were given a completely different view of the role of religion in the Soviet Union. There was "not one shred" of evidence to suggest a change of heart on the part of the Russians toward religion, wrote Ave Maria. In their view the Patriarch Sergius was "nothing but a political Quisling."[62] The Catholic World repeated the "Quisling" charge and added that any Catholic who backed communism was "flirting with heresy."[63] "What's the Difference Between Nazism and Communism?, asked Our Sunday Visitor in March 1944. "There is no difference worth talking about," was the answer.[64] America welcomed any improvement but remained skeptical that Stalin was really serious about giving Russians true freedom of religion.[65]

Sign was less hopeful: " The Reds have done such an efficient job of eliminating religion that it no longer exists as a force to be reckoned with in Russian life."[66]

By 1944 Catholics were charging that communism was now the real enemy. In an October 1944 editorial in The Catholic World the vituperative Father Gillis charged that the "greatest potential menace to the permanent peace is Soviet Russia. Fascism is not and never was as dangerous as Communism." He demanded that postwar membership in the United Nations be refused to communist nations. "The only surviving dictatorship is Communist dictatorship. *Voila l'ennemi!*"[67] The Catholic bishops agreed. In November 1944 they sent the president a letter which expressed grave doubts about a postwar world in which communism was given an equal footing with democracy. Stalin's policy, they wrote, was "to establish the domination of the Soviet Union over other nations by promoting, subsidizing and directing Communistic minority groups in other countries." In a statement that surely must have rankled the president, the bishops claimed that the Soviets were "defeating our American war aims."[68]

Yet as vituperative as the Catholic press was against America's Soviet allies, they were even more scathing in their denunciation of American liberals, fellow travelers, dupes and communist whom they saw as the real threat to American values, to American democracy, to the American way of life. Our Sunday Visitor warned Catholics to "beware of the organizations, which spring up during war-time ostensibly to "Americanize" the un-Americans in our midst, and to promote the democratic [Communist] spirit." Who were our worst enemies? To Our Sunday Visitor they were some university professors, some newspaper editors and some politicians who speak "against totalitarianism and imperialism in one form" and turn around and speak for it "in another and far worse form."[69] The Catholic World admitted "the Soviets can do us no harm unless we permit their Fifth Columnists to do their treacherous work here at home."[70]

By 1944 concern over the growing influence of liberals and American communists had become paramount in Catholic circles. As upset as Catholics were over the possibility of Russian influence into Eastern Europe and communist activity in international organizations, it was the specter of a postwar world, especially a postwar America, dominated by liberals and American communists whose every thought was controlled in Moscow that caused Catholic clerics to shutter.[71] At the annual meeting of American bishops in November 1944 the bishops commissioned a priest, Father John Cronin, to undertake a year long study of the influence of communism on American institutions.[72]

Cronin was a Baltimore priest who had long been active in Catholic social action. In 1943 he was approached by the FBI to help them in an investigation of the influence of communists in Baltimore area labor unions. Cronin became a "mole" for the FBI and was horrified by what he, and the FBI, perceived as communist subversion in the labor movement. His anti-communist credentials firmly established, the priest undertook his study with patriotic and religious fever.[73]

Cronin presented his findings to the bishops at their annual meeting in Washington in November, 1945. After the acrimony of Yalta, San Francisco and Potsdam and the growing realization that communist forces would control Catholics in Eastern Europe, Cronin alerted the bishops to an even more frightening possibility--a communist victory on the home front. Some 160 pages long, divided into five chapters, the report was a testament to Catholic paranoia. It was also an outline for postwar HUAC investigations which would begin in two years. At times extremely careful, and at others freely using heresy and innuendo to name names, Cronin painted a portrait for the bishops of an America besieged by internal subversion.[74]

Completely discounting the dissolution of the Comintern the report began by stating that "American Communism is primarily a menace because it is a branch of world communism." The party, Cronin claimed, was the "slavish tool of Soviet imperialism" with 75,000 members, including 12,000 in the armed forces. He warned the bishops about the growing power of communism in America. It was not just party members, Cronin reminded the bishops, but the front organizations and fellow travelers, tools and dupes in the American press, ethnic groups, labor unions and government who all support the "party line" that represented the real threat.[75]

Cronin informed the bishops of the bad news. There were communists in the government. The good news was that the Truman Administration was busily rooting them out. It all started with the war. The most communist dominated federal agency had been the propaganda agency, The Office of War Information. Cronin claimed that the New York and foreign branches of OWI were "completely dominated" by communists While director Elmer Davis had been "informed" of this fact he was too "broad" to take any action.[76]

During the postwar era the communists were turning their attention to the Department of State where "Alger Hiss" was "the most influential communist." Dean Acheson, Cronin claimed, was not a communist--he had simply been "deceived" into supporting the party line. Others who had aided the communist cause were Archibald McLeish, John Carter Vincent and most of the leaders in the Immigration and Naturalization departments. In the Bureau of the Budget, Wayne Cole was seen as supporting communist policies. In Congress, Vito Marcantinio and Adam Clayton Powell of New York and Senator Claude Pepper of Florida were named as "reliable ball carriers for the Communist team."[77]

The American press was also seriously compromised by liberals and communists. PM was the worst offender with "ninety percent" of its copy following the communist line. The New Republic and The Nation were also suspect. Cronin noted that Freda Kirchwey, editor of The Nation, "has been joining all the front organizations available." A real surprise on the list was Consumer Reports. The communist objective at CR was "to undermine capitalism by proving that the profit system produces inferior goods at exorbitant prices."[78] Cronin also saw communism in Macy's and Brentano's bookstores when he failed to find anti-communist books prominently displayed.

The electronic media had also been penetrated by the reds. Cronin found so much information about the communist infiltration in Hollywood that he could only provide a brief summary. The names were familiar: screenwriters John Howard Lawson, Alvah Bessie, Lester Cole, Dalton Trumbo and Herbert Biberman who later gained fame as part of the Hollywood Ten were named. Actors John Garfield, Bette Davis, Charlie Chaplin, and Edward G. Robinson were singled out. The Hollywood unions were riddled with communists and it was safe to say, Cronin concluded, that "Los Angeles deserves to be called the second Communist capital of the United States [New York was first and Washington third]."[79]

Radio had also been compromised. Commentators such as Leland Stone, William S. Gailmor, Johannes Steel, and Raymond Gram Swing were charged with being communists or dupes of the party. Cronin noted that he was recently dismayed by the communist line coming from Robert St. John on NBC. Walter Winchell was not a communist--he only appeared to be because of his "Jewish sympathies." If Catholics were to listen to radio, Cronin recommended "the outstanding anti-communist commentator Lowell Thomas."[80]

And so on. Cronin recommended that the bishops continue to study the impact of communism in the United States and that they undertake a systematic program of anti-communist education for priests and lay Catholics. In his report he ignored such social issues as poverty, unemployment, public housing and civil rights other than to show how the communists had seized upon them as wedges for their own gain. Anyone speaking or writing about these issues was a communist, a liberal, a fellow traveler or a dupe. They were all enemies of the Catholic church.

In public the Catholic press repeated the private findings that Cronin presented to the bishops. "Communism can never be squared with Christian teaching" The Catholic Mind claimed in March, 1945.[81] "Russia Challenges the Allied Conscience" headlined America which told its readers that the only people who opposed getting tough with the

Russians were "Stalin's stooges in this country" . . . and "mushy-headed liberals who, practising a double standard of international morality, applaud the destruction of Nazi totalitarianism but think that Soviet totalitarianism must be appeased."[82] When Westbrook Pegler, a rabid anti-communist, suggested that the way to treat communists in this country was to "shun them, discriminate against them . . . and drive them out of every job that they now hold in public service and in the unions" Ave Maria said amen and questioned whether or not Russian should be given membership in the United Nations.[83] Our Sunday Visitor used editorial cartoons to lampoon Russian intentions. In one Stalin warms his hands over a bonfire of "Russia's Wartime Promises of PostWar Cooperation" which he says "served their purposes."[84] Another reinforced the concept that all America communists were tools of Moscow. A bearded American communist tried to plot on a chart the current position of the American communist party toward the U. S. government. A wireless labeled "direct wire from Moscow" gave him the correct policy which was in 1945 "phooey to the U. S."[85] While the press condemned the decisions at Yalta as "once more being outsmarted," by 1945 and 1946 most attention was given to the internal subversion aspect of communism and to a devotion to driving communists out of America.

Perhaps it is not so surprising after all that American public opinion could swing so quickly from friendship to animosity toward the Soviet Union as events unfolded in the immediate postwar era. It is apparent that a large body of Americans refused to accept the Soviet Union as an ally during the war. Despite government and media attempts to redefine the image of the Soviet Union and communism as an "evolutionary democracy" one in six Americans who claimed membership in the Catholic church were told by their clergy and press that it was no less than a "sin" to flirt with communism. While obviously not all Catholics accepted at face value the authority of the church to dictate individual political beliefs, the power of the clergy over its lay population was extremely strong in the 40s and 50s. It was literally impossible to pick up a Catholic publication, attend a Catholic school, be a member of a Catholic organization like the Knights of Columbus or the Holy

Name Society or attend mass and not be subjected to a constant barrage about the dangers of communism.

While a gag order may have temporarily silenced men like Archbishop Curley, the Catholic press, tightly under control of the bishops, continued to harangue against the threat of communism. It is interesting to note that the FBI investigated the black press during the war for subversion for suggesting that blacks were not full partners in American democracy, but no such investigation was ever leveled at the Catholic press for its refusal to accept a Soviet ally as an equal partner. The Post Office wanted to prohibit mailing black newspapers because they pitted "ally against ally," yet no such action was contemplated against Father Gillis or any other Catholic editor for anti-Soviet editorials.[86]

Freed from a wartime alliance, Catholic journals smirked with an "I-told-you-so" attitude as they launched an unrestricted moral campaign.against atheism. It may have been accidental that Senator Joe McCarthy, whose name became synonymous with anti-communism, was Catholic and had strong connections with Georgetown University. But it was not accidental that Catholics played a major role in the postwar campaign against communism.

No longer strangers in a strange land, Catholics were now completely Americanized. Catholics turned the charge of foreign allegiance on its ear. It was the liberals, the fellow-travelers, the pink professors, the dupes who were under control of a foreign state. But it was Moscow not Rome that was subverting America. As historian Richard Hofstadter wrote: "After more than a century of persecution, it must feel luxurious for Catholics to find their Americanism at last unquestioned, and to be able to join with their former persecutors in common pursuit of a new international, conspiratorial, un-American enemy with a basically for allegiance--this time not in Rome but in Moscow."[87] Symbolic was Bishop Fulton J. Sheen's preaching on network television: a primetime testament to the arrival of Catholics as full-fledged patriotic Americans.

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[1] "No Alliance With Atheism," The Catholic World (Jan. 1943), 390-395.

[2] Ralph Levering, American Opinion and the Russian Alliance, 1939-1945 (1976). On Hollywood see Clayton Koppes and Gregory D. Black, Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies (1987). For theater see John Gassner, "The Russians on Broadway," Current History (Mar., 1943), 549. For radio see J. Fred MacDonald, "Government Propaganda in Commercial Radio--The Case of Treasury Star Parade, 1942-1943," Journal of Popular Culture (1978), 290-300.

[3] Charles Alexander, "Uncle Joe: Images of Stalin at the Apex of the Grand Alliance," Third Soviet-American Colloquium, Moscow, October, 1988.

[4] Vladimir V. Pozniakov, "Collaboration with the USSR and War and Peace in the Mass Media and Public Opinion of the US on the Eve of the Teheran Conference," Third Soviet-American Colloquium, Moscow, 1988.

[5] Boris A. Gilenson, "Cultural Relations Between the USSR and the US, 1942-1943," Third Soviet-American Colloquium, Moscow, 1988.

[6] Ralph Levering, American Opinion and the Russian Alliance, 1939-1945 (1976), 117.

[7] Survey Division, OWI, "The American Public Views Our Russian Ally," June 10, 1943, box 6, Nash Papers, Harry S Truman Library, Independence, Missouri; Koppes and Black, "The Soviet Palimpsest: The Portrayal of Russia in the American Media in World War II," Second Soviet-American Colloquium, Hyde Park, New York, 1987..

[8] John Gaddis, The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947 (1972), 42.

[9] Ibid, 45.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid, 42.

[12] Geoffrey Perrett, American in the Twenties: Days of Sadness, Years of Triumph (1982), 313.

[13] On communism as a religion see Emerson Hynes, "A Sane Approach to Communism," The Catholic World (July, 1938), 395-399. Hynes also notes that Catholics were resorting

to unnecessary "red-baiting" and urged the church to move away from that tactic in fighting communism.

14 John Cogley, Catholic America (1973), 86-88.

15 George Q. Flynn, American Catholics and the Roosevelt Presidency, 1932-1936 (1968), 22-25.

16 Ibid, 130; America (10/28/33), 75;

17 John LaFarge, S. J., The Manner is Ordinary (1954), 283.

18 "Analysis of the Papal Encyclical, "Divini Redemptoris," The Homiletic and Pastoral Review (June, 1937), 984-85.

19 Ibid.

20 Paul Martin-Dillion to Monsignor Ready, Oct. 13, 1939 "The Bishops and Russian Recognition," in "Communism," National Conference of Catholic Bishops Archives, Washington, D. C.

21 Leonid I. Strakhovsky, "What Price Recognition?," America (11/25/33), 176; Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, S. J., "What Recognition of Soviet Russia Means," Catholic Mind (Jan. 22, 1934), 27-32; "On Recognizing Russia," America (10/28/33), 75.; Wilfrid Parsons, S. J., "An Open Letter to M. Litvinov," America (Nov. 4, 1933), 107-08; John LaFarge, S. J., "Moscow Comments on Recognition," America (Dec. 23, 1933), 274-275; Joseph F. Thorning, S.J, "What Russian Recognition Means," America (Dec. 2, 1933), 200-01.

22 See almost any issue of Our Sunday Visitor which was printed in Fort Wayne, Indiana but distributed nationally. Most newspapers subscribed to the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service which supplied most local papers with articles. With the exception of local editorials and local news to read one Catholic newspaper was to read them all. The strongest local newspapers were The Brooklyn Tablet which maintained an independence from the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service, the Michigan Catholic (Detroit) and the New World (Chicago). On the role of the Catholic press in combatting communism see John LaFarge, S. J., "The Catholic Press and Communism," America (May 30, 1936), 177-178.

23 David J. O'Brien, American Catholics and Social Reform: The New Deal Years (1968), 86.

24 "On Atheistic Communism," The Catholic Mind (April 22, 1937), 141-177.

25 Flynn, American Catholics & the Roosevelt Presidency, 138-39.

26 America (May 22, 1937), 157.

27 Flynn, American Catholics & the Roosevelt Presidency, 138-39.

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28 O'Brien. American Catholics and Social Reform. 206.

29 Very Rev. Raphael M. Huber. Our Bishops Speak (1952), 314-318.

30 "Analysis of the Papal Encyclical." The Homiletic and Pastoral Review (June, 1937), 985-989.

31 Fulton J. Sheen, "Communism's Double Face." Sign (March, 1937), 463-466.

32 John T. McNicholas, O.P., "Communism: Its Evils and Its Causes." The Catholic Mind (April 8, 1937), 121-134.

33 Rev. Michael J. Ready to Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, April 19, 1938, National Conference of Catholic Bishops Archives, Washington D. C.

34 Thomas Spalding, The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789-1989 (1989), 361-362.

35 McNicholas, "Communism: Its Evils and Its Causes." The Catholic Mind (April 8, 1937), 126-127.

36 Captain Maguire, "Anti-Communism Not Enough," The Catholic Mind (Sept. 22, 1938), 366-368. In 1938 the monthly journal ran twelve major articles depicting some aspect of the communist threat. A majority of the articles concentrated on the threat of internal subversion.

37 Spaulding, The Premier See, 366.

38 "Russia As An Ally?," The Catholic World, (May, 1941), 129-133; "Covenant with Hell." The Catholic World, (August, 1941), 513-517.

39 Flynn, Roosevelt and Romanism: Catholics and American Diplomacy, 1937-1945 (1976), 151. Despite the title Flynn effectively stops his narrative in September 1941.

40 Gaddis, The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947 , 40.

41 New York Times, October 3, 1941.

42 Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen, "Soviet Russia May Be Helped But Russia Must Be Reformed." America (Oct. 18, 1941), 33-34.

43 "Stalin and the Four Freedoms." Ave Maria (Oct. 18, 1941), 483-484.

44 Helen Iswolsky, "Orthodox Church and the War." Commonweal (Oct. 17, 1941), 606-608; "Comment," America (Oct. 11, 1941), 2.

45 America (Oct. 11, 1941), 2.

46 John LaFarge, "Aid to Soviet Russia Requires Some Guarantees." America (July 12, 1941), 373-374.

47 New York Times, Oct. 5, 1941; Gaddis, Origins of the Cold War, 40-41; Flynn, Roosevelt and Romanism, 161.

48 Washington Times Herald, Oct. 6, 1941.

49 "Clergy Poll." *The Commonweal* (Oct. 31, 1941), 37-38.

50 Flynn, *Roosevelt and Romanism*, 170-171.

51 Spalding, *The Premier See*, 362.

52 Flynn, *Roosevelt and Romanism*.

53 Spaulding, *The Premier See*, 376.

54 Ralph Levering in his study of wartime opinion states that Catholic opinion softened toward the Soviet Union during the war and cites one or two articles in the Catholic press to support his opinion. However, a more complete reading of press opinion and clerical attitudes shows that Catholic opinion remained firmly anti-communist, anti-Stalin and anti-Soviet Union during the war years. See Levering, *American Opinion and the Soviet Alliance, 1939-1945* (1976), 101.

55 Koppes and Black, "The Interpretation of Relations Between the U. S. and the Soviet Union in the American Press in 1943," Third Soviet-American Symposium.

56 OWI Report, "Press Reaction to the Dissolution of the Comintern," June 23, 1943, Philleo Nash Papers, box 8, Harry S Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.

57 Ibid. *Ave Maria,* (July 23, 1943), 98.

58 "The Meaning of it All," *Commonweal* (June 4, 1943), 159-160.

59 Helen Iswolsky, "Spiritual Resurgence in Soviet Russia," *Survey Graphic* (Feb., 1944), 112-115.

60 *New Republic* (Sept. 27, 1943), 409.

61 *Washington Post*, March 30, 1943.

62 "Has Russia Changed?," *Ave Maria* (June 17, 1944), 676.

63 *The Catholic World* (July, 1944), 368.

64 *Our Sunday Visitor*, March 5, 1944.

65 *America* (Sept. 18, 1943), 647.

66 Quoted in *Our Sunday Visitor* . August 30, 1942.

67 "Getting Wise to Russia," *The Catholic World* (Oct. 1944), 1-4.

68 Edward Mooney, Archbishop of Detroit to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Dec. 13, 1944, NCWC.

69 Ibid, November 19, 1944.

70 *The Catholic World*, (Oct. 1944), 5.

71 Catholics were very concerned over the fate of Poland and Eastern Europe and the bishops warned FDR that if those areas were given over to communist [Russian] control, millions of American Catholics would be on the warpath. In one of the more bizarre incidents in American diplomacy during the war Stalin invited a Catholic priest, Father Stanislaus Orlemanski, to a "mission to Moscow." Orlemanski was the first American

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Catholic priest to enter Russia since 1934. He had published articles in the Detroit Polish language paper Nasz Swiat (Our World) praising the Soviet Union and attacking the Polish-Government-in-Exile in London. Orlemanski's mission set off a storm of protest within the church. Our Sunday Visitor called him a communist and he was repudiated and by his bishop and the State Department for traveling without permission. America called him a "tool of Communist propaganda." The affair died as quickly as it began. See Gaddis, The US and the Origins of the Cold War, 145-146; Our Sunday Visitor, May 14, 1944; America (May 27, 1944), 212; Sign ((May, 27, 1944), 626.

72 Spaulding, The Premier See, 376.

73 Ibid.

74 John F. Cronin, S. S., "The Problem of American Communism in 1945: Facts and Recommendations," November, 1945, NCWC. I am indebted to Warren Willis, archivist of the United States Catholic Bishops Archives for supplying me with a copy of this report and with additional documents cited in this essay.

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid, 48-49.

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid, 58.

80 Ibid, 59.

81 "Christianity and Communism," The Catholic Mind (Mar., 1945), 165.

82 America (Sept. 8, 1945), 451.

83 Ave Maria (June 30, 1945), 403.

84 Our Sunday Visitor, Oct. 14, 1945.

85 Ibid, July 15, 1945.

86 Patrick S. Washburn, A Question of Sedition: The Federal Government's Investigation of the Black Press During World War II (1986), 142.

87 Richard Hofstadter, Anti-intellectualism in American Life (1969), 141.

THE LIFE CYCLE OF NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE

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Presented at the national convention of the
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
Magazine Division
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The Life Cycle of National Geographic Magazine

On April 16, 1990, National Geographic President, Gilbert M. Grosvenor, dismissed his right-hand man, Wilbur E. Garrett, ten-year editor of National Geographic Magazine. Three other senior editors, Joseph Judge, Thomas Smith and Charles McCarry, were also dismissed or left on their own shortly thereafter. More than a year later, the upset is not completely settled. Drastic changes in management, format, style and leadership have left many Society employees shaken and skeptical of the future.

The National Geographic Society, through its traditional yellow-bordered publication, has successfully helped "increase and diffuse geographic knowledge" around the world for 103 years.[1]

For decades, the Geographic has ranked among the five highest-circulating magazines in the United States.[2] It is one of few publications that thousands of readers hoard and stack in dusty attics as a favorite collector's item. It is a pillar in the magazine business; a traditional, international, non-profit empire.

But when the magazine's four top editors were suddenly replaced, many felt death of the publication was imminent. The upset, however, was not the first at the Geographic.

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[1] Howard S. Abramson, National Geographic: Behind America's Lens on the World, Crown Publishers, Inc., New York, N.Y., 1987, 36.

[2] Ibid., 5.

and it probably will not be the last.

The fact is, if a magazine doesn't change through time, it will likely die. The Society president was aware of that fact when he turned editorial leadership over to former expeditions editor, William P.E. Graves.[3]

Grosvenor knew that magazines follow life cycles. A life cycle begins with birth. It ends with death. A person cannot live forever. Nor can a magazine---unless it adapts to an ever-changing society.

The life cycle concept in relation to magazines was first introduced by magazine businessman Clay Felker in an article he wrote for The Antioch Review in 1969. According to Felker, "American magazines follow the pattern of humans: a clamorous youth eager to be noticed; a vigorous, productive middle-age marked by an easy-to-define editorial line; and a long, slow decline, in which efforts at revival are sporadic and tragically doomed."[4]

This paper will follow Felker's theory as it applies to National Geographic Magazine. It will examine the different stages of the magazine's life, focusing on where it has been, where it is now and where it must go in the future if it is to survive the next 100 years.[5]

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[3] Gilbert M. Grosvenor, "The Society at a Crossroads--Opportunities for Cooperation and Change," NGS Insider, May 1990, 2.

[4] Clay Felker, "Life Cycles in the Age of Magazines," The Antioch Review, Spring 1969, 7.

[5] NOTE: I worked as an editorial assistant to the senior associate editor of National Geographic Magazine, 1988-1990. Much of what is written in this paper about that period comes from my own experience there.

BIRTH

The cover was drab, terra-cotta brown, representing the soil of the earth. The debut issue highlighted "Geographic Methods in Geologic Investigation," "The Classification of Geographic Forms by Genesis" and "The Great Storm of March 11-14, 1888."[6]

Luckily, early readers of the magazine were nearly all government geographers, so they understood the content and were, perhaps, able to put the information to use.

But the Society's original motto--to increase and diffuse geographic knowledge--failed to capture many followers during the first 10 years of the magazine's existence. In 1898, with only 1000 members paying the required $5 membership dues, National Geographic Society President and Editor, Alexander Graham Bell, decided something had to be done or the publication would perish.

Ten years earlier, Bell, his father-in-law Gardiner Greene Hubbard, and 31 other businessmen and scientists met at Washington D.C.'s Cosmos Club to form the National Geographic Society for members interested in exploration, geology, meteorology, volcanology and other sciences.[7] Unfortunately, neither the Society nor the journal it published attracted many members.

An attempt at newsstand sales failed. Board members wanted to move the magazine to New York. They also wanted to change the name of the publication, abort the concept of membership and avoid mentioning National Geographic Society sponsorship for fear that the scientific connotations would turn readers away.

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[6] Barbara Moffett, "Evolution of National Geographic Magazine," National Geographic Society, August 1989, 1.

[7] Barbara Moffett, "Birth of the Society," National Geographic Society, August 1989, 1.

The Society and the magazine were $2000 in debt, but Bell ignored the Board. He took a chance and hired 23-year-old Gilbert H. Grosvenor (GHG) to doctor the sickly publication.[8]

CHILDHOOD

The first thing Grosvenor did upon accepting the Society's only paid position and only office--a small room shared with the American Forestry Association on the fifth floor of a U.S. government building--was sit down and read. He read Darwin's Voyage of the Beagle, Dana's Two Years Before the Mast and Slocum's Sailing Alone Around the World.[9]

What was it about these three travel books that made them so fascinating and easy to read? Grosvenor knew, and he quickly adopted their style. His newly revamped magazine was written in first person narrative. Its paragraphs were short, and the words were simple and easy to understand. Articles were printed in double columns on the page. By 1910, the magazine's front cover had been redesigned, sporting a border of oak and laurel leaves, acorns and hemispheres.[10]

Grosvenor and Bell resisted continual pressure from the Board to move the magazine to New York. At the same time, they reduced dues to $2. The Board was skeptical of the new editor, and Grosvenor knew it would be difficult to prove himself.

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[8] Tom Buckley, "With the National Geographic on its Endless, Cloudless Voyage," The New York Times Magazine, 4 August, 1970, 14.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Moffett, "Evolution of National Geographic Magazine," 2.

He began with a set of principles, a foundation upon which to base the magazine. He presented his standards in a 1915 letter to members:

> * The first principle is absolute accuracy. Nothing must be printed that is not strictly according to fact.
>
> * There must be an abundance of beautiful, instructive and artistic illustrations.
>
> * Everything printed...must have permanent value.
>
> * All personalities and notes of a trivial character are to be avoided.
>
> * Nothing of a partisan or controversial nature should be printed.
>
> * Only what is of a kindly nature should be printed about any country or people, everything unpleasant or unduly critical should be avoided.
>
> * The content of each number should be planned in a timely fashion.[11]

When Grosvenor published these principles, they were read by nearly 285,000 members. Fifteen years earlier, there had been only 1000 members. His success was based, in part, on his adopted writing style on articles that transported readers to the world's exotic lands. He also succeeded because he ran out of things to say.

While producing the January 1905 magazine, the editorial department simply ran out of text. Eleven pages still had to be filled, and the monthly deadline was fast approaching.[12]

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[11] Abramson, 63-64.

[12] C.D.B. Bryan, The National Geographic Society - 100 Years of Adventure and Discovery, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., New York, N.Y., 1987.

Since 1903, Grosvenor had used an occasional government photo to illustrate different articles. This time, however, out of desperation, he used dozens of photographs taken by a Russian explorer in Lhasa, Tibet, to fill the extra space. He was sure the move would end in his dismissal, but the reaction was surprisingly different. Readers loved the photos. They begged for more. Grosvenor complied. And that year, membership tripled.

After several years, Grosvenor believed the magazine solvent enough to set aside 15 percent of all annual membership dues to fund Society-sponsored expeditions.

TEEN-AGE YEARS

Early in the century, a few explorers trekked through Alaska and around the Bering Sea, but such expeditions were few and far between.[13] In 1909, however, National Geographic helped Admiral Robert E. Peary become the first man to allegedly reach the North Pole. Peary's feat marked the beginning of the age of exploration and discovery for the Society

In 1912, Hiram Bingham discovered the ancient ruins of Macchu Pichu in Peru. National Geographic was there. In 1916, National Geographic sponsored a campaign to save California's giant sequoias. And the first explorers to reach the top of Mt. Everest, the world's highest mountain, claimed victory with the Society's green, blue and brown flag. Wherever there was adventure, wherever there was discovery, National Geographic captured it and brought it into the homes of the Society's members.[14]

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[13] Abramson, 109.

[14] Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines - 1885-1905, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1957.

Then came World War I. U.S. magazine sales plummeted as the economy slumped. Even newspaper sales were down. Economics was partly responsible, but so, too, was a new competitor--radio. Instead of reading about the war, the bombs, the horror and destruction, Americans listened to the historic events at the very moment they occurred. Newspapers and magazines, it seemed, were in trouble. But not National Geographic.

During the war years, the magazine's membership grew from 285,000 in 1914 to 650,000 in 1918.[15] Grosvenor printed thousands of maps for U.S. forces and Allied troops and distributed the magazine to army bases throughout Europe.

"The eyes of the civilized world are now focused upon Europe and the stupendous war there beginning," Grosvenor said. "Our maps will prove much value to members of the Society who want to follow the series of military campaigns that it is feared will be without parallel in history."[16]

ADULTHOOD

After the War, Americans wanted to learn more about the world. Grosvenor acknowledged the requests and sent his staff globetrotting. One magazine cited the Geographic's 30-year editor and 10-year president as "the group leader on the world's largest around-the-world tour."[17]

Society expeditions continued. Richard Byrd penned his account of flight over the

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[15] Abramson, 119.

[16] Ibid., 118.

[17] Ibid., 121.

North Pole in the September 1926 issue. Readers experienced "Raft Life on the Hwang Ho" with author Robert Moor in June 1932, and F.A.C. Forbes Leith highlighted his five-month car trip from England to India in the August 1925 magazine.

New developments in photography and printing techniques helped create spectacular photos captured on land, from the sky and underwater, too.

Membership skyrocketed until the early 1930s when it held steady throughout the Depression Years. It wasn't long, though, before it was back to business as usual.

Then another war developed. While most magazines began to prepare for another circulation loss, Geographic prepared for battle. Cartographers began work on new world maps. When territory was claimed by one country or another, boundaries were re-drawn. Geographic staffers marched into the war zones, writing down the details, capturing the drama and re-telling the tale to members.

The stories and events, however, were always expressed with caution. Writers were under orders from Grosvenor to avoid any negative comment about the forces in the War, including the German Nazis and Italian Fascists. Writers described, writers explained, but never could they refer to "enemy forces" as such. To do so would violate one of Grosvenor's seven principles.

Along with the Geographic, a few other publications, including Life and Saturday Evening Post, profited during the War. Newspapers also seemed to profit. While Americans continued to tune in to nightly broadcasts, they were turning to print media for details.[18]

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[18] Jay Black and Frederick Whitney, Introduction to Mass Communication, Second Edition, Wm. C. Brown, Publishers; Dubuque, Iowa, 1983.

Geographic was known for detail--accuracy and detail. Because of this reputation, other media turned to National Geographic. In 1944, the Associated Press (AP), United Press (UP) and International News Service (INS) argued over the spelling of foreign countries and cities. Eventually, all three decided to adopt the Geographic spellings, as these were considered most accurate.[19]

World War II ended. Nearly a decade later, when Grosvenor retired in 1954, the technical terra-cotta geography journal had become a 66-year-old, gold-rimmed treasure-book full of accurate, timely, beautifully photographed, non-partisan articles about the people and places of the world.

MATURITY

Grosvenor took the Geographic by the hand when it was only a young child. He created it, molded it, stood by its side through the teen-age years and guided it well into adulthood.

"One man can influence every idea, every layout, every word that appears in print," Felker said in his life cycles article, and Grosvenor did just that.[20] National Geographic Magazine was Gilbert H. Grosvenor.

But when he finally handed the editorship and presidency to his son, Melville Bell Grosvenor (MBG), people expected MBG would change things and alter the course of the traditional magazine. He did not.

In a 1959 interview with TIME, MBG said he would stick to the seven principles his father commanded for so many years. Like his father, MBG believed controversy should be left to other publications. When the reporter noted that the Geographic had not carried an article on Soviet Russia for 15 years, MBG said, "How can we do it without making it sound unfriendly?"[21]

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[19] Abramson, 180.

[20] Felker, 7.

For the next 10 years, MBG did little to change his father's traditional publication, although he did branch out, creating new departments within the Society itself. The magazine grew. Expeditions flourished. National Geographic helped support the archaeological digs of Mary and Louis Leakey along the shores of Lake Turkana. It funded and wrote about Dian Fossey and her gorillas and financed researcher Jane Goodall's chimpanzee studies, as well.

The magazine photos were beautiful, the issues were keepsakes and all the world was seen through a rose-colored lens. But throughout the 1950s and 1960s, MBG was criticized for this philosophy. Still, he stood adamantly behind tradition. Nothing, it seemed, would change the Geographic.[22]

Meanwhile, other publications, once top competitors in the industry, were dying. Life and the Saturday Evening Post were in trouble. It seemed the Geographic was taking little notice of these publishing obits, although they did not pass by completely unnoticed. MBG's son Gilbert and Gil's partner, photographer Bill Garrett, were watching every move in the industry. Quietly they took note.

MBG retired after only 10 years at the helm. He wanted his son to take charge of the organization, but not right away. Gil still needed practice as an associate editor. MBG temporarily turned the editor's chair over to Frederick Vosburgh and named Melvin M. Payne the new Society president.[23] For the first time since 1920, the Society and the magazine were directed by two different people.

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[21] "Rose Colored Geography," TIME, 15 June, 1959, 47.

[22] "Life As It Is," Newsweek, 14 August, 1967, 59.

Though commanding different entities, Vosburgh and Payne stuck to the Grosvenor standard and agreed no revolutionary changes would be made. "Our aim is to present articles of permanent value that avoid controversy or partisanship," said Payne.[24]

But, in 1970, when Gil Grosvenor (GMG) was finally named editor, he and Bill Garrett began to challenge Gil's grandfather's number one credo. The magazine began to cover the theory of evolution--much to the horror of the world's creationists. It shocked readers with stories on chemical pollution, nuclear power, sickness and disease.

In a 1970 New York Times Magazine article, GMG said that changes in the magazine's style were evolving slowly. Instead of ignoring the fact that the environment was in trouble, the Geographic began to look at certain environmental problems to try to find solutions.

In an article on Yugoslavia's Dalmatian Coast, GMG did not ignore the atrocities that the country's dictator committed.

"The evolution (of the magazine) has taken place so carefully so far that I don't think we've lost any readers," he said in defense of the article. "When you've got a renewal rate of close to 90 percent, you've got to assume that the readers approve of your product. Of course, if you permit yourself to be seduced by this, to become complacent, it's the beginning of the end."[25]

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

GMG's attempts to change the magazine's rosy viewpoint to a more realistic focus met with opposition. The dispute came not only from readers, but from Chairman of the Board Melvin Payne after a June 1977 article on South Africa. Under GMG's editorship, the article presented the white government side of apartheid, as well as the side of the black majority.[26] More than 300 letters of protest flooded the Geographic offices.

Payne, in a Newsweek interview, said, "Our feeling is that controversy is adequately covered in the daily press. Our responsibility is to hold up the torch, not apply it."[27] In defense, GMG said he didn't think the magazine had changed that drastically, but added, "You can't fool very many people by not showing the world as it is. A magazine must evolve with time."[28]

When GMG stepped from editor to president of the Society in 1980, he turned the editorship over to Bill Garrett. Garrett, like GMG, had an eye for a photography and a commanding presence with which the editorial staff would not argue. Garrett's magazine also explored controversial issues. A 1986 article by author/photographer Bob Caputo covered AIDS in Uganda while Senior Associate Editor Joe Judge tackled Castro's

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[25] Buckley, 18.

[26] Tony Schwartz with Jane Whitmore, "The Geographic Faces Life," Newsweek, 12 September, 1977, 111.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

Cuba in 1988.

OLD AGE AND THE NEED FOR REJUVENATION

The articles continued to focus on controversial issues. Yet after a few years, it was apparent that readers weren't responding---and when they did, their letters were often negative. In fact, membership, which hit 10.5 million in 1980, slipped to slightly less than that in 1990. Something wasn't working.

At the same time, it was well known throughout the organization that the editorial philosophies of both Garrett and GMG were drifting. The President felt the articles in Garrett's magazine were becoming *too* controversial, as he kept a nervous eye on membership surveys. He thought he knew his readers but ordered a a new study to focus on specifics. He was determined to pinpoint the problem of stagnant membership.

In 1987, GMG hired Beta Research Corporation to conduct a survey based on a random sample of 3,000 members. Over half the questionnaires (1,843) were completed and returned with a response rate of 61.8 percent.

From the study, GMG learned that *National Geographic's* readers were loyal to the magazine. Nine of 10 people surveyed said they had read three or four of the last four issues, spent more than two hours with an issue and picked it up more than four times. The average reader was 25 to 44 years old and earned an average income of $66,000. More than 68 percent of the readers were men. Over two-thirds were in professional/managerial positions and of that percentage, 52 percent included executive/administrative/managerial occupations. More than 76 percent of the readers were married and almost three-quarters of the subscribers attended college. More than 80 percent owned a home with an average value of $138,000. The same percentage owned credit cards and traveled an average eight trips a year. The majority of the members admitted they do not buy unknown brands merely to save money and are willing to pay more for quality products. The survey demonstrated high quality readers who consider National Geographic a high quality magazine. Members seemed happy.[29]

In 1988, National Geographic Magazine celebrated its 100th birthday with a year of special historical and environmental issues and a multi-million dollar December issue that featured the first cover in magazine history designed as a complete holograph. GMG hoped the year-long extravaganza would attract new members. Instead, in January 1989, the cake was gone, champagne bottles were empty, and confetti lay everywhere. The party was over, and National Geographic came quite close to dipping into the red.

GMG ordered another study. This time it was conducted within the Society. He asked Garrett to appoint an 11-member staff committee to examine the magazine's future.

The committee conducted a series of 30 in-house "town meetings" over a two-month period. Each employee at the Society had the opportunity to speak out on the challenges facing the organization. The Committee listened to suggestions, complaints and ideas and on March 30, 1990, presented its report to the President. On April 16, Editor Bill Garrett and Senior Associate Editor Joe Judge were dismissed. The following day, Society employees received copies of the Committee's report. The statement's first two points--WHERE WE ARE and WHERE WE NEED TO BE--are reprinted below.

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[29] Beta Research Corporation, "The Subscribing Households of National Geographic - The United States Edition," National Geographic Society, 1987, 3-4.

Where We Are -

We stand at a crossroads between what we have been for 100 years--outstanding but rigid, segmented, prone to excess--and what we must be in the future--flexible, dynamic and efficient. "National Geographic is an elephant," someone said. "It needs to become a jaguar."

But change comes hard to an institution hobbled by hierarchy. One theme heard time and again during the town meetings was this: The staff is demoralized by the absence of unified and enlightened leadership, by the lack of forward momentum. On the magazine, this translates as a feeling among the staff that their voice goes unheard, their creativity squandered.

Clearly, part of the cure lies beyond the magazine, in ending the turf wars that have balkanized the Society--corroding the spirit of the staff, adding to the paralysis of decision making, and setting the tone of divisiveness that taints the organization.

But the Committee also believes the time has come to rework the magazine's management structure into a leaner, more agile system, where creativity is both demanded and rewarded.

Where We Need to Be -

Gone are the days when one Editor could be, in effect, head of Layout, Photography, Text and Illustrations. To do so now is next to impossible--soon it will be. While this arrangement has produced spectacular successes, it has also caused expensive failures. It denies the staff the power to fulfill their responsibilities and undermines their authority to make decisions. It discourages accountability. Problems linger unsolved, department managers feel mistrusted and uninformed, and wheel-spinning replaces forward motion.

> In years to come, the success of the magazine will require teamwork and strong leadership at all levels. The structure we propose streamlines the magazine by reducing layers of bureaucracy and personnel. Deadwood should be pruned, as humanely as possible, with care given to preserving our bedrock resource of long-term staffers. A magazine freed of layers responds quickly to change. It also functions smoothly and efficiently. Cost savings will inevitably result. It's time to flatten the pyramid."[30]

GMG immediately addressed the issue through the NGS in-house publication, Insider.

"The National Geographic Society, like almost every publisher, is restructuring to meet the demands of the 1990s," he said. "To be successful, we must work together as a team."[31]

GMG made it clear as he continued his address that he was and always will be the captain of that team, and there shall always be just one captain.

"I have admired Bill Garrett's talent and thoroughly enjoyed his friendship," he said. "His contributions to the magazine are immense...Unfortunately, our differing views became irreconcilable. Structure, management of employees, and editorial policy are clearly the responsibility of the President under the Society's bylaws."[32]

When GMG and Garrett began to change the rose-colored format of the publication in the 1970s and 1980s, their ideas were innovative and new. Yet as

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[30] Committee for the Future, "Report to the Editor," National Geographic Magazine, 30 March, 1990, 3.

[31] Grosvenor, 2.

[32] Ibid.

Felker said, an editor "may be unconsciously right for the spirit of the moment, but after some years, his interpretation of the formula is no longer fresh, his ideas are worn out, his decision pattern has become a cul de sac."[33] These are the factors that carry magazines through their rising and falling life cycles.

Editor Bill Graves agrees. "If you have an old staff, you will have an old magazine," he said.

While GMG insists on complete control of the family publication, he realizes the only way it will survive another century is by listening to the audience and adjusting to its needs. He is using the Committee's Five Year Plan as a partial guideline.

The Committee suggests abolishing editorial hierarchy by dividing the structure into compact departments with specific and essential duties. Grosvenor has done that already. There is no longer a senior associate editor or an associate editor. Instead, the editorial staff is directed by one editor and four managing editors.[34]

"We have deliberately turned back to the staff some of the functions of creativity and input," Graves said. "The Five Year Plan very consciously pushes the ideas of the young people (staff). One editor used to say the magazine encourages promising 50-year-olds. We're changing that."

In its plan, the Committee also listed needed improvements for the magazine's writers. Writers never had deadlines. Sometimes they were given two and three years to write an article, spending tens of thousands of dollars along the way. Writers now have specific deadlines and are carefully monitored by text editor, Betsy Moize. In the past, Geographic writers were never allowed to freelance for other publications. The Committee suggests that if allowed to do so, they would enhance the reputation of the magazine, and the freedom to write for others might also attract good writers to the Geographic. Ghost writers, who in the past salvaged three-quarters of the articles from ruin, must vanish. Instead, writers must produce better material, eliminating the need for ghosts to clean up after them.[35]

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[33] Felker, 13.

[34] Committee for the Future, 4.

The Committee also suggested the magazine should be re-introduced on the newsstand. "No longer can we rely on the allure of 'membership' to attract readers. A stroke of marketing genius back in GHG's day, the concept of membership is now being exploited by everyone from Erol's Video to the local health club.[36]

"Other publications offer their subscribers more tangible benefits than we do, and no matter how dynamic our magazine, we cannot blithely assume that future members will be content to receive their monthly copy, period. If our membership is indeed one of our most valuable assets, we must add more to the relationship."[37]

This, they believe, can happen through either newsstand sales or through attractive incentives such as discounts on multiple memberships, a membership kit, a member page, special lectures and an improved 1-800/WATS line.

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., 18.

[37] Ibid.

In addition to members' needs, the magazine and all other Society departments must be flexible enough to adjust to changing technology. They must be prepared to adapt to new media and information. But first, before it does anything else, it must adjust to internal restructuring. "If it remains rigid and compartmentalized, it risks losing touch with its members' changing needs - and will surely die a lingering death."[38]

ANOTHER 100 YEARS

National Geographic Magazine is a 103-year-old tradition. Although it is in the midst of drastic changes, the need for these changes was realized in time to cut back, clean up and redirect the magazine's focus.

Magazines like Life and the Saturday Evening Post failed in their attempts to adapt to the changing society. They realized far too late that they were in trouble and were unable save themselves.

Clay Felker said a magazine cannot survive without change.[39] It cannot. But he also said a magazine is the soul of one man:

"The vitality of a magazine depend not on great publishing organizations, precision editorial formulas, vivid promotion or high-powered salesmen but on the vitality of one man's editorial dream. It's the beginning and end of magazines.[40]

This article shows that it is not.

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Felker, 13.

[40] Ibid.

Magazines in the 1990s must adapt to the outside world, but they must also adapt within their own organizations. National Geographic is a prime example. There, emphasis is shifting from a one-man show to an organizational team. A tight-knit, creative staff of photographers, editors, writers, art directors and designers is the key to another successful 100 years.

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AN INSTITUTION OF THE HISTORICAL PUBLIC SPHERE:
THE INDEPENDENT IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

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AN INSTITUTION OF THE HISTORICAL PUBLIC SPHERE:
THE INDEPENDENT IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

> The magazine represents intellectual activity in its terminal bud. Its function is to work over old plots into new stories, to rewrite biography and history in accordance with the taste of the times, to resurrect forgotten truths, to make crude information palatable, to convert abstract science into applied science, to throw a searchlight into dark corners of the earth and dark spots of our civilization, to start new movements and to guide old ones, to wake up people who are asleep by sounding the burglar alarm, to twist around the heads of those who are looking backward over their shoulder; in short, to inspire, to instruct, and to interest.--"An Editorial to Order," The Independent, October 1, 1908.

A search is under way, partly in response to what some see as the shambles of public life in the late twentieth century, to rediscover settings in which societies have come together to discuss and decide what they must and should do. Among students of communication and of history, there has been a "resurgence of theoretical interest in public life,"[1], as one scholar, James W. Carey, has stated. Communication scholars in particular have drawn on a concept formulated by Jurgen Habermas in The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (1962)[2]. It has been concisely summarized by one interpreter:

> The concept of the "public sphere" refers to a realm of social life in which "public opinion" can be formed.

> Citizens meet as part of the public sphere when they come together not as subjects of the state or as private economic actors concerned with matters of individual interest, but rather as a free and open public body to discuss matters of general interest.[3]

Habermas places the public sphere within modern European-American history: he associates it with the emergence of bourgeois society, with the development of bourgeois literature, and especially with the development of printing. The "decisive mark" of the public sphere, he asserts, was "the published word"; its "pre-eminent institution" was the press.[4] The newspaper, and specifically the newspaper of political opinion, was a creator and component of the public sphere, a stimulus and guide in public debate, an important participant in the public's continuing conversation.

In their essays on the public sphere, both Carey and Daniel J. Hallin[5] gravitate to the political press of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as the nonpareil actor in the American public sphere. To the extent that journalism was transformed in subsequent generations into a consumer product, a one-way transmission belt for the powerful, and an institution that obscures rather than illuminates public questions, so far, they imply, has it fallen from grace. Inevitably, because the metaphors of the press in the eighteenth century--the purported multiplicity of voices and freedom of opinion--are, as Justice

William J. Brennan, Jr., once noted, as comfortable as "a pair of old shoes"[6] (and possibly as thin), their use bends discussions more toward the instrumental than the historical; the era is offered as a good example.

Use of the eighteenth-century models also has the drawback of suggesting a single prototype for the kind of press that can play an active role in the public sphere, much as American studies of community have relied on the model of the New England village.[7] Not only does the public sphere of the eighteenth century require study on its own historical terms, but other periods might be expected to yield variations of the public sphere recognizable in their own context.

Among general historians, Thomas Bender has been the most persistent searcher for the structures of American public life. In part, his search is professional; he is looking for common ground in a literature of American history that he sees as increasingly fragmented into subcultural studies. But his main thrust is historical, to describe and define an historically a past "public world." His starts from a model that differs from that of Habermas; rather than seeing "public culture" as the setting for reasoned debate, he sees it as "a forum where power in its various forms, including meaning and aesthetics, is elaborated and made authoritative"--where, in effect, society defines itself. The debate, in his eyes, is inherently unequal; some voices go unheard, others drown out their competitors. For better or worse, Bender says, the result establishes "our common life as a people and a nation."[8]

Bender's *New York Intellect* (1987) traces the history of a public sphere of one city over two centuries. For the most part, it illustrates his thesis of public culture as struggle. He notes the "contested quality," "the tension between democracy and standards" in New York City's intellectual life. Yet the arena sometimes seems small, even stuffy. For example, Bender emphasizes the role in the city's public life of the political journalism of E. L. Godkin of *The Nation*. Indeed, Godkin wrote that the press had "taken the place in the formation of public opinion which was filled in ancient [democracies] by the habit of assembling in the Agora."[9] But Bender makes clear that Godkin's agora was hardly a place of contest or tension; unlike the Greek marketplace, it was created "by gentlemen for gentlemen." "Godkin and his circle," Bender remarks, "were not interested in a public or political sphere that served as an arena of competing ideas and interests."[10] They felt capable of providing guidance for society unaided.

Such apparent contradictions--between equality and openness, between rationality and power--are not peculiar to Bender but suffuse many discussions of the historical public sphere. Habermas states: "A public sphere from which specific groups would be *eo ipso* excluded was less than merely incomplete; it was not a public sphere at all." But he adds at once that the *public* of the public sphere of the eighteenth century was "the bourgeois reading public."[11] Carey views the concept of the bourgeois public sphere as "tragically flawed" and proposes as the key to the concept's future usefulness the need to "free it from bourgeois limitations."[12] Bender's depiction of the public sphere as the site of an open contest, however unequal, could be considered a step toward such freedom, but in contemplating actual historical circumstances he finds it difficult to escape these same bourgeois limitations.

Is the tragic flaw of the public sphere also a fatal flaw? Certainly, there is ground for suspicion that historically the equality of the public sphere is only the equality of a gentlemen's club, available only to those who are admitted as members or guests, and that it may even be a concoction employed to control the boundaries of debate. Bender at least suggests otherwise, and this paper seeks, more specifically, to find whether an institution of the press, a particular publication in a particular time, succeeded in extending those boundaries.

In his survey of New York's intellectual life, Bender bypasses the editors and journalism of the Progressive era. Once he has finished with Godkin and the "Brownstone culture" of the Gilded Age, he resumes with the Greenwich Village rebels who created *The Masses* (1911) and with Herbert Croly's founding, in 1914, of *The New Republic*.[13] No matter; in covering two years he cannot give equal attention to every decade. Yet the struggle to define and respond to the new industrial, urban, and bureaucratic society between 1890 and 1914 is notable for the very "contested terrain"[14] that Bender proposes as the essence of New York and, by extension, American public culture.

In that era, the general notion of a public sphere was well known, although the discussion was inevitably framed around "public opinion." Writers of the time seemed to be especially conscious of the public role of the press, partly, one suspects, because in a time yet innocent of polls and linear regressions the press was one of the most visible and tangible manifestations. There was even a tendency to suggest that the press alone constituted public opinion; the magazine Public Opinion , for example, consisted of mostly of reprints from newspapers.[15]

The starting point for many analyses was Bryce; his very title, The American Commonwealth, referred to public life. Partly because he was friendly rather than condescending, the Englishman's work, first published in 1888, was subsequently offered in countless reprintings, revisions, and condensations.[16] Bryce's successors particularly favored his observation that the organs of the press were "influential in three ways--as narrators, as advocates, and as weathercocks." The first two, referring to the news and editorial functions, are obvious enough.[17]

Bryce saw the third --the "function [the press] chiefly aims at discharging"--as the most important. What exactly it consists of, though, is hard to determine. In part, the weathercock function seemed to call for offering a diversity of views; in part, it implied offering those views "that have got popular strength behind them"--those of public importance. At the least, this weathercock function, the winnowing of views, can be understood as representing a function of the press in the public sphere.[18]

Writing in 1909, Walter J. Shepard of the University of Wisconsin emphasized the links between journalism and other forms of public discussion. He named conversation as a "primary organ" of public opinion, and private correspondence a second. From these two, he wrote, had emerged journalism: "Just as books grew out of the monologue or discourse," he wrote, "so journalism is a development of conversation and correspondence." He concluded that while the press had all but displaced the function of private correspondence in contributing to public opinion, it had served to augment conversation, for it had "unified [it] in space and diversified it in time."[19]

Neither Bryce nor Shepard saw all branches of the press as equally effective in public roles, especially the weathercock role. They paid tribute to the omniverousness (and omni-regurgitativeness) of American newspaper reporting, but found the newspapers curiously opaque. Bryce used the hypothetical, or possibly autobiographical, instance of the person who goes abroad, reads the home newspapers faithfully, and yet eventually feels out of touch because the newspapers do not convey "what the people are really thinking." Shepard offered the same example, and paraphrased as follows the English editor, William T. Stead: "At present the journalistic assumption of uttering the public opinion is in most cases a hollow fraud. There seems little room left here for the office of weathercock."[20]

Where, then, might the weathercock be found? Public opinion analysts cast scarcely a glance at the most visible new form of journalism, the "cheap" magazines, which were outstripping such older genteel periodicals as _The Century_. Created by a new breed of entrepreneur-salesman-manager, _McClure's_, Edward W. Bok's _Ladies' Home Journal_, George Horace Lorimer's _Saturday Evening Post_, and others developed an editing style ultimately oriented not only toward attracting mass circulations but to turning readers into consumers. Such magazines did not necessarily ignore public issues, but the issues--even the dramatic muckraking in _McClure's_--came wrapped in the increasingly standardized magazine package of light fiction, factitiously "timely" articles, and heavy national-brand advertising.[21]

There remained a third sector, identified by both Bryce and Shepard. Shepard believed that the weeklies were better than dailies as a vehicle for comment because they allowed time for contemplation. Bryce singled out what he called the "religious weeklies" as being the most important, partly for their independence, partly for their appeal to morality.[22]

These weeklies and a scattering of monthly publications made up the American version of what Habermas calls, in a particular sense, "literary journalism." The background of literary journalism--which he defines not in present-day terms as a nonfiction genre but as a periodical journalism conducted by "private men of letters"--stretches back as far as the origins of the political newspaper in Europe and Britain. Such journals, among the first to emerge expressly as organs of opinion, usually lost money and had to be subsidized. Their compensating virtue was editorial autonomy, providing editors "the kind of freedom that in general characterized the communication of private people functioning as a public"--that is, the freedom to be active participants in the public sphere.[23]

In Britain, the period that coincided with Godkin's day in America was a era of vigor for such independent journals, led by *The Fortnightly Review*, founded in the same year as *The Nation*, 1865. It was the first major British journal of public affairs to endure without religious or political backing. Its early editors entered the public sphere boldly, with a "policy of the open platform and its prerequisite, the signed article," the latter at that time an innovation. Unlike the earlier *Saturday Review*, the *Fortnightly* opened its pages to a "radical, alienated intelligentsia, intent on destroying the moral authority of the ruling elite and the Church. . . " But the limit of editorial autonomy was reached when the young Irish-American editor, Frank Harris, published an article by an anarchist, and was let go.[24]

In America, there was no precise counterpart of the *Fortnightly*. But there was at least a group of magazines devoted primarily to public questions. They included a few monthlies, such as B.O. Flower's marvelously unsuccessful and cantankerous *Arena*,[25] and the utterly forgotten but meritorious *World To-Day*, edited out of the University of Chicago by a theologian, Shailer Mathews.[26] *The World's Work*, a monthly magazine started in 1900 by Walter Hines Page, can also be considered a member of the group, although Christopher P. Wilson places the magazine in the mass-market group and the magazine historian Frank Luther Mott condemned it as stodgy. Still, it carried nothing frivolous and offered a wide range of articles on public issues.[27]

Among weeklies, *The Nation* after Godkin continued as a supplement to the New York *Evening Post*, with both publications being controlled by Villard family; its editor to 1906 was Wendell Phillips Garrison, son of the founder of *The Liberator*.[28] *Charities*, founded to cover issues in the emerging social-work professions (and renamed *The Survey* in 1909) was much broader in scope than its name implied.[29] *The Public*, created to compensate for the deficiencies of newspapers, was run by a single-taxer, Louis F. Post, from 1898 to 1919.[30]

When Bryce credited independent religious weeklies with carrying forward the weathercock function, he doubtless had in mind two periodicals that had started under Protestants sponsorship, whose early histories had been intertwined, and, as the turn of the century neared, were rapidly secularizing. In July 1893 the weekly that had been known since 1869 as the Christian Union became The Outlook; under its aging editor, Lyman Abbott, it soon hitched itself to the stars of Theodore Roosevelt and American imperialism.[31] The other, The Independent, founded in 1848, never changed its name, but the death of its last founder in 1896 led to the end of its overt religious connections. In appearances at least, The Outlook and The Independent were almost twins; their formats were similar, they shared writers, they discussed a similar agenda of issues.[32] But The Independent, in the form it took after 1898, played such a different public role from its counterpart that it deserves separate consideration--and rehabilitation, for it is largely neglected, except when historians choose to rifle it for pithy quotations.

The historical voice of The Independent was William Hayes Ward, who joined the staff on January 1, 1868, when the weekly was in its twentieth year and he, until then a Congregationalist minister and science teacher, was in his thirty-third. He was still on hand as editor in chief, little slowed by his years, to write the Independent's sixtieth-anniversary pieces in 1908. Not only was Ward a tireless editor and editorial writer, but in off hours he had made himself pre-eminent in the field called Assyriology, in which capacity he lectured at Harvard and led an expedition to Babylonia.[33]

Although Ward adapted well to the twentieth century--he continued to write crisp, sometimes acid editorials until 1913--he also spoke for the magazine's traditions. He voiced mild regret that the magazine gave up its religious ties but he insisted that it should never yield on the heritage of support for racial equality descended from the antislavery position that had brought it into being. An editorial of November 26, 1908, presumably written by Ward, responded to readers' complaints that the magazine showed "a wrong spirit" toward the South: "[I]t is no evidence of ill will to the South that we hold fast to equal treatment of white and black here on earth as in Heaven."[34]

Yet Ward alone did not create The Independent that emerged during the Progressive era. That was also the work of Hamilton Holt, thirty-seven years Ward's junior, a grandson of the founder and long-time proprietor, Henry Chandler Bowen. Holt, whose parents were Bowen's daughter and a lawyer who eventually became a federal judge, grew up in Brooklyn and New York, but his other home was his grandfather's farm in Woodstock, Connecticut. There as a youth he made the invaluable acquaintance of Henry Bowen's eminent friends.[35]

Holt found his way to The Independent by stages. He made his way grudgingly through Yale ('94). That fall he enrolled in graduate school at Columbia University, where the sociologist Franklin H. Giddings and others awakened and cultivated his political and social awareness. Giddings taught courses on socialism and on poverty, and planned to sponsor Holt in a dissertation on early American socialist movements; it was never written. Giddings also pointed Holt toward working for a time at the University Settlement, amid the immigrant slums of Manhattan's Lower East Side.

But journalism also called. Soon after he enrolled at Columbia, Holt prevailed on his grandfather to give him a part-time job at The Independent. Ward was named to tutor him, and began Holt's apprenticeship at 130 Fulton Street by setting him on the most menial task in the office--the "Ministerial Register," the equivalent of a newspaper's obituary department and precisely the same task on which Ward himself had apprenticed.[36]

Holt thrived under his two mentors, but eventually had to choose between them. Although Giddings remained a friend and an important contributor to The Independent, Holt became a journalist rather than a sociologist. Early in 1896, his grandfather Bowen died. Holt's mother became a part owner of The Independent, and her three brothers took roles in the management. The next year Holt decided to become a permanent member of the staff and, at the age of twenty-five, was named the office editor, or--as he came to be called-- managing editor.[37]

Such a role could have been largely clerical, but Holt signaled almost at once that he had ambitions for himself and The Independent. He announced the new era in a manner common to incoming editors, by dramatically changing the weekly's appearance. As of the issue of July 7, 1898, he reduced the old-fashioned 11-by-16-inch quarto page to the roughly 7-by-10 favored by the successful new magazines. He introduced a note of "timeliness" with a section at the front called "Survey[38] of the World," a compact, impartial summary of the previous week's events. There were signed articles from contributors, then columns on literature, science, health, finance, insurance, and religion. By 1900, the religion column had disappeared and The Independent had become a general-interest periodical.[39]

For sixteen years, more than eight hundred issues of the magazine, the older man and the younger worked together, apparently without dissension. With the arrival in 1903 of Edwin E. Slosson, a metamorphosed science teacher, the editorship became a triumvirate. The exact political character of the magazine in this period is hard to determine; it called its editorial policy "liberal," and "non-partisan."[40] Yet Ward (according to Holt) told Holt and Slosson a few months before his death in 1916: "You both think you are radical; I am the only real radical on The Independent."[41] Like other statements of political philosophy at The Independent, this one was far from clear; it may have been intentionally Delphic. As long as Ward was in charge, the editorial policy retained primarily its humaneness, its friendliness toward reform movements, its commitment to equality, and the unpredictability that had commended it to Bryce.

Holt's politics was equally clouded. He became deeply involved in individual causes such as the international-arbitration movement, but in the aggregate he was a political hybrid of a type possibly peculiar to that era--a man with leanings toward socialism who called himself a Republican and yet in 1905 supported the Democrat William Randolph Hearst for mayor of New York.[42] He was multi-partisan and, perhaps consequently, also seemed largely indifferent to party politics.

But where the substantive political positions of The Independent remained elastic and adaptable, its public goals were laid out repeatedly and rather carefully over the years. There was a consciousness of objectives that seemed to be more than the after-the-fact editorial rationalizations that sometimes substitute for a publication's policy.[43] In fact, the policies of The Independent appeared to be closely attuned to current thinking about public opinion and the press and revealed an unusual consciousness of the importance of a reciprocal relationship with the reader.

In one of the early statements of policy of the Holt era, The Independent set forth its goal of being the American counterpart of The Times of London, to become "the National paper of the

United States" to reflect "the genius of American life." Not surprisingly, it claimed that a weekly was constitutionally best suited to serve as the American national paper; it could be more timely than a monthly, and could circulate more widely than a daily.[44]

The magazine also made a less mechanical point, that magazines had become the heirs to the public influence "exerted formerly by pulpit, lyceum, parliamentary debates and daily newspapers"--all traditional institutions of the public sphere. In particular, newspapers had failed; for they did not offer news "in a simple, trustworthy way," as The Independent declared in 1906; newspaper staffs were obliged to keep an eye on the financial and social connections of their owners and advertisers. The public was being supplied "information more or less involuntarily disclosed and more or less distorted." The Independent urged attention not only to its own class of weekly journals but to "[l]abor papers, single tax papers, socialist papers, tariff reform papers, temperance papers, woman's suffrage papers . . . [for] stronger intellectual meat than the great dailies and the picture-book magazines can afford."[45] The weekly saw itself as part of this new, untraditional array of public press institutions.

The Independent's primary device for presenting public matters was its access policy: "THE INDEPENDENT makes it a point to admit to its columns articles with which it editorially disagrees, and thus aims to allow all sides of every question a fair hearing."[46] This was not a statement of editorial passivity. In editorials, there are repeated references to an even more important standard--that there should be consequences: "The purpose of THE INDEPENDENT is not merely to amuse, not merely to instruct, but to inspire and incite to action. . . . We try not to make this hortatory motive unpleasantly conspicuous, but it accounts for some of our omissions, for example, obituaries, crimes, scandal and accidents . . . . We prefer to discuss only living people and living issues." The magazine was looking for the active reader, who "wants to find something that has force, something that he is inclined either to clasp or to kick." The magazine shrugged off the danger that readers might "assume that the views to which we give space must be ours, whereas we merely mean they are worth calling to the attention of the public." The critical reader would learn to distinguish.[47]

Holt described in a short essay in the sixtieth-anniversary issue how the access policy worked. About half of the manuscripts printed, he said, were solicited, many with difficulty. He recalled with pride the weekly's difficulties during the previous fall's campaign in obtaining statements from each of the seven presidential candidates to appear in a single issue.[48] The other half of the articles were selected from the unbidden; among them, he said, the magazine might accept five to ten while rejecting a bushel. To encourage contributors, he wrote: "We accept almost any kind of articles except nature stories on 'The Hush of the Woods,' Christmas fiction beginning 'The snow was falling in great white flakes,' or sonnets commencing 'As one who.'"

The Independent treated the advent of the muckrakers with respect, while distinguishing its own role from theirs. An editorial, published less than a month before Theodore Roosevelt's speech grafting that name onto its unwilling recipients, praised their work as a genuine literature of exposure, "narratives that stir the blood." But it warned, accurately: "The public cannot stand at attention with its eyes fixed on one spot indefinitely." It said that eventually exposure must be succeeded by the "steady-going constructive effort" of prevention. Such would be the work, one might conclude, of The Independent, week by week, after the muckrakers had passed.[48]

Worthy as the policies of The Independent might have been, these policies alone do not set the magazine significantly apart from its contemporaries. The magazine itself must be scrutinized for evidence that it was not simply a variant on the public arena that Holt saw in other magazines--that is, a symposium composed only of the celebrated. When he was still under thirty, Holt created a sensation (anonymously) with an article in the Saturday book supplement of the New York Times that was identified as coming "from the office of one of the best-known periodicals in the country." Holt wrote that "the chief duty of the successful magazine editor is to keep the literary aspirants out and to get the celebrities in" and recommended that any writer who wanted to be published should "make the acquaintance of the editor." The article was speculatively attributed to bigger fish, such as Bok, and attacked for its "brutal cynicism." Although Holt evidently did not admit his authorship openly, he gave away his identity with an editorial on the same theme in The Independent three months later when he examined current issues of magazines and found that 41 percent of the articles were by celebrities and almost a third by established writers. The rest went to those he had called, in his article, "minor authors, all of whom have succeeded, as one of them recently expressed it, 'in spite of the editors.'"[50]

Holt's article was clearly sardonic and perhaps even self-accusing. In his sixtieth-anniversary article eight years later, he paraded the names of the Independent's celebrities, more than two hundred contributors, classified as poets, novelists and essayists, statesmen and publicists, clergymen, educators, philanthropists, reformers, and miscellaneous, many of them, such as William Cullen Bryant, dating from an earlier era. Still, Holt in his own time had done his share of flattering and soliciting in search of celebrity articles at low fees. His contributors showed at least diversity, and were particularly strong in representation by women--Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Ida Husted Harper, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Kate Barnard, Ida Wells-Barnett. Yet such as these were no more than a variant on the celebrity system.[51]

Holt was by no means reconciled to letting the magazine become the preserve of the famous. He employed a number of strategies to widen access to The Independent. One was to seek to cover a full range of the widening agenda of social issues--poverty, slums, child labor, unions, women's work and rights, and always racial problems and racial equality. Even more important was his recognition that not every signed contribution had to be a thundering opinion article. He often turned to lesser known writers for reporting--frequently, advocacy reporting--on critical issues. He even had a kind of stable of reporters, drawn from the group, a few years younger than he, who had also lived as residents at the University Settlement, all of them socialists or near-socialists. Ernest Poole reported the 1904 stockyards strike in Chicago (which also served as the inspiration to Upton Sinclair for The Jungle). William English Walling wrote on mining strikes in the West. Starting in 1905, Poole, Walling, Arthur Bullard, and Kellogg Durland all reported from Russia on the 1905 revolution and its consequences.[52]

But two efforts in particular to extend the range of the public arena remain particularly noteworthy. Holt's most dramatic gesture began not long after he twitted other magazines about their overload of celebrities. This was a series of usually unsigned brief autobiographical articles--"A Miner's Story," "A Salesgirl's Story," "The Story of a Sweatshop Girl," the last signed by Sadie Frowne. One tabulation lists seventy-five of these stories as published in The Independent between 1902 and 1912, although some on the list, such as "The Sorrows and Joys of a College President," may not really belong on such a list. In 1906, sixteen of what Holt called "lifelets" were published as The Life Stories of Undistinguished Americans.[53]

In the introduction, Slosson, the Independent's literary editor explained the rationale for the life stories. Preferably, the article was actually written by the subject; alternatively, it was compiled from interviews and read back to the subject for approval. Great care, Slosson wrote, was taken to assure authenticity: "These sketches, therefore, are very different in character from those of professional writers of the wealthy or well-to-do class, who temporarily become tramps, factory girls, or nursery governesses, or who join the crowds of the unemployed for the purpose of later securing employment as professors or editors." He also provided a kind of affirmative-action justification, saying that the articles were selected to represent a diversity of races and ethnicities, as they certainly did.[54]

But the main point was historical and sociological: "If Plutarch had given us the life stories of a slave and a hoplite, a peasant and a potter, we would willingly have dispensed with an equivalent number of kings and philosophers." Just so: with these life stories, Holt was crowding out a certain number of his celebrity kings and philosophers. Finally, Slosson claimed the superiority of knowing about individuals rather than classes; he said that readers could learn the numbers of cold and hungry from a statistical study such as Charles Booth's *Life and Labor of the Poor in London*, but that real understanding, and a stimulus to action, came from such works as Jack London's stories of individuals in *The People of the Abyss*.[55]

Holt's *Undistinguished Americans* offers representatives of the people of the American abyss. Edmund Morris, reviewing a new edition of the work, has noted the articles' "tone of hard authenticity . . . bruising even by contemporary standards. . . ."[56] Imagine, then, the impact on readers of 1904 on finding a passage such as the following breaking the tranquil and dignified surface of their weekly magazine:

> A favorite way of whipping a man was to strap him down to a log, flat on his back, and spank him for fifty or sixty times on his bare feet with a shingle or a huge piece of plank. When the man would get up with sore and blistered feet and an aching body, if he could not then keep up with the other men he would be strapped to the log again, this time face downward, and would be lashed with a buggy trace on his bare back. When a woman had to be whipped it was usually done in private, although they would be compelled to

> fall across a barrel or something of the kind and receive the licks on their backsides.[57]

Coverage of the degradation of the poor was far from unique, of course. What was unusual was to have the voices of the poor themselves, or a reasonable simulation thereof, join in the discussion.[58]

The other dramatic extension of the Independent's range was its coverage of racial equality and conflict. The era was one of retreat and caution even among the sympathetic; magazines did not lack for discussion of what was called the racial "problem" but more often than not the perspective was that of the Southern white, who was presumed to know everything worth knowing about the black.[58] By contrast, The Independent has since been given credit for being "the Negro's steadiest champion among national journals." This issue in particular set it apart from The Outlook, which came to be seen as equivocating.[60]

In the great schism of black politics in the first years of the century, The Independent remained open to both sides. Both Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee, the self-made educator and promoter of the bootstrap theory of black progress, and W.E.B. Du Bois, the Harvard-trained sociologist and advocate of protest, were energetic free-lancers, and found ready access to general magazines. Their contributions to the Independent began early in Holt's managing editorship, and continued through the prewar era.[61]

Although Du Bois at one time perceived William Hayes Ward as an ally of his adversary Washington,[62] he gave The Independent some of his most heartfelt work. The brief "Credo,"--starting "I believe in God who made of one blood all races that dwell on the earth"--was destined to be reprinted, framed, and hung on the walls of thousands of black homes.[63] After the horror of the Atlanta riot of September 1906, in which white mobs killed at least ten blacks and plundered black neighborhoods, Du Bois wrote his "Litany of Atlanta"--"Behold this maimed and broken thing; dear God it was an humble black man who toiled and sweat. . . " It was published in The Independent, with the subscript, "Done at Atlanta, in the Day of Death, 1906."[64]

The weekly's most influential contribution to the history of race relations came through a piece of reporting. Two years after Atlanta, Springfield, Illinois, home of Lincoln, had a riot of its own. William English Walling and his wife, Anna Strunsky Walling, back from Russia, were in Chicago when the riot started and reached Springfield by train before it ended. The result was an article signed by William English Walling and titled "The Race War in the North." It bluntly accused the whites of Springfield, with the acquiescence of authorities, of having "initiated a permanent warfare with the negro race" in order to drive out or exterminate the city's black population. It warned that when "these methods become general in the North every hope of political democracy will be dead" and there would be "either a rapid degeneration or a profounder and more revolutionary civil war."[85]

The article, the single item in The Independent that has attracted the most sustained attention from historians, is credited with leading to the call on Lincoln's birthday in 1909 for the conference that began to organize the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is revealing of Holt and that Walling was permitted in the article under his own byline to warn of revolution. But when Holt and Walling later collaborated on writing the manifesto for the conference, Holt called him severely to account for hyperbole and the use of such terms as "reign of terror." " . . . while your spirit is right," wrote Holt, "your statement is far too extravagant and extreme." Then, immediately after the conference, he again turned Walling loose in the pages of The Independent for a vehement attack on scholarly and upper-class racism.[88] This sequence, if anything, typified not only Holt's moderate but the strength of the Independent's policy, which permitted him to countenance in the magazine things he would not possibly have said himself.

Over the years, The Independent made a little money and held a few readers; its attempt to become a bigger magazine proved fatal. In Holt's years as managing editor, the circulation never rose above 20,000. For a time, he promoted the idea of a journal with an endowment of five million dollars, managed by a board of trustees in the manner of a university. No such endowment appeared for The Independent; Holt impatiently scraped up loans and bought it himself for $40,000 from his uncle Clarence Bowen in 1912. Soon after, he yielded management to an experienced publisher, who promised to put out the weekly on a grander scale. It absorbed two magazines, the historic Harper's Weekly and the Chautauquan, the circulation rose to 100,000, and the strain threw the magazine into irreversible financial crisis. Holt, on the verge of breakdown, held on until 1921 and sold out. After a pause,, The Independent reappeared in Boston--"I haven't the heart to read it any more," Holt wrote to Slosson--and ultimately became part of its old counterpart, The Outlook; the now-Siamese twins died in 1935.[67]

The Independent fails most of the conventional tests for being important. It was minuscule in circulation, and seemed to be out of step with the successful editorial trends of the time. It could not claim major influence on legislation or elections, or even an important politician-patron, such as The Outlook's TR.

None of these circumstances seemed to sway the weekly's policies in the slightest, at least until Ward retired. Possibly it was the hard shell that the publication developed from years of fighting off critics first of abolition, then of equal rights, that gave Ward and The Independent their toughness, their willingness not to please.

That toughness was a key in the relationship the editors hypothesized with readers. Readers were not necessarily supposed to like what they read in The Independent, but they were supposed to respond. This is the antithesis, theoretically, of the audience attitude that Carey and Hallin see as the disease of twentieth-century American journalism, and that Christopher Wilson associates with consumerist mass-magazine readers. IN the Independent's case, it appears, not many readers wanted the challenge.

Yet inevitably some did, and the voice they heard was not from the fringe but in one of the era's mainstreams. Daniel T. Rodgers, grappling with the problem of defining progressivism, has suggested that it constituted less a movement than three clusters of ideas, "three distinct social languages." The Independent appears to have been little concerned with two of these--the language of antimonopoly and anticorruption that led to the first wave of muckraking, and the language of efficiency and scientific progress. Rather, it tended to speak in what Rodgers calls "the language of social bonds . . . a newly intense sympathy with . . . the innocent casualties of industrialism. . . ." Fittingly, considering The Independent's origins, it was the language most associated with the universities and churches, and particularly with "socialized Protestantism."[88] More important, this set of concerns constituted The Independent's weathercock function, for the issues that it dealt with point straight into and through the twentieth century.

This posture enabled The Independent to open its portion of the public sphere, however small, to a wider membership, which approximates, however imperfectly, the forum, envisioned by Bender, where social definitions can be changed. Perhaps a majority of those who spoke through The Independent still were literary gentlemen, but editorial ingenuity and persistence provided the kinds of authentic voices that were lacking in, say, Godkin's agora and a depth of concern that was missing in the mass magazines. The Independent tried hard to mend what Carey has identified as the tragic flaw of the public sphere and in doing so intimated ways that we might begin our own mending.

NOTES

[1] Carey, "The Press and The Public Discourse," The Center Magazine, March/April 1987, pp. 4-16; phrase is on p. 11.

[2] English translation by Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (London: Polity Press, 1989)

[3] Rick Roderick,, Habermas and the Foundations of Critical Theory (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), p. 42.

[4] Structural Transformation, pp. 16, 180.

[5] "The American News Media: A Critical Theory Perspective," in John Forester, ed., Critical Theory and American Public Life (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1985), pp. 121-46.

[6] Address, October 17, 1979, at dedication of the S.I. Newhouse Center for Law and Justice, Rutgers Law Review, 32 (1979), pp. 173-83; phrase is at p. 176.

[7] See Thomas Bender, *Community and Social Change in America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1978), p. 10. Note also David Paul Nord's remark: "'Community' became what the town had had some time before the investigator arrived to find it gone." "The Public Community: The Urbanization of Journalism in Chicago," *Journal of Urban History*, 1 (August 1985), 411-41; the quotation is on p. 413.

[8] "Making History Whole Again," *New York Times Book Review*, October 6, 1985, pp. 1, 42-43; "Wholes and Parts: The Need for Synthesis in American History," *Journal of American History*, 73 (June 1986), 120-36; quotations are on pp. 126, 131. See also his *Community and Social Chang In America*, p. 148, for a terse definition of the distinctions between community and public life.

[9] Godkin to Charles Eliot Norton, April 13, 1865, in William M. Armstrong, ed., *The Gilded Age Letters of E.L. Godkin* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1974), p. 28; quoted in Bender, *New York Intellect* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), p. 183.

[10] Bender, *New York Intellect*, pp. 183, 190.

[11] *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, p. 85.

[12] "The Press and The Public Discourse," p. 11.

[13] Bender, *New York Intellect*, pp. 216-41.

[14] The term is used in Daniel T. Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," in Stanley I. Kutler and Stanley N. Katz, eds., *The Promise of American History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1982), pp. 113-32; quotation is on p. 121.

[15] *Public Opinion* lasted from 1886 to 1906. Mott found it "remarkably unattractive." "Public Opinion," in *History of American Magazines 1885-1905*, pp. 649-51; the criticism is on p. 649.

[16] For example, the Chautauqua Press issued *Social Institutions of the United States* (1891), reprinted from *The American Commonwealth*, for use in its adult-education courses.

[17] *The American Commonwealth* (1894 revision; New York: Macmillan, 1909), II, p. 271.

[18] *American Commonwealth*, II, p. 273.

[19] Shepard also saw the platform as a primary organ of public opinion and foresaw that the general strike might become one as

well. Shepard, "Public Opinion," *American Journal of Sociology*, 15 (July 1909), 32-60; quotations are on pp. 45-47. See also William Dudley Foulke, "Public Opinion and Popular Control," in Andrew C. McLaughlin and Albert Bushnell Hart, eds., *Cyclopedia of American Government* (New York: D. Appleton, 1914), III, 102-105.

[20] Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, II, 276; Shepard, "Public Opinion," 52-53. See also Ellery Sedgwick, "The Man with the Muckrake," *American Magazine*, May 1906, pp. 111-112; and the discussion of public-opinion theories in Warren T. Francke, "The Mass Communication 'Theories' of the Muckrakers," paper presented as Association for Education in Journalism convention, Seattle, August 1978.

[21] See Christopher P. Wilson, "The Rhetoric of Consumption: Mass-Market Magazines and the Demise of the Gentle Reader, 1880-1920," in Richard Wightman Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears, eds., *The Culture of Consumption* (New York: Pantheon, 1983), pp. 39-64; and Richard M. Ohmann, "Where Did Mass Culture Come From? The Case of the Magazines," in his *Politics of Letters* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1987), pp. 135-51. In fact, Wilson and Ohmann dismiss muckraking so summarily as part of a marketing plan that there may now be a need, I believe, to re-establish the significance of the magazine journalists and journalism of that era; but that is not the task of this paper. In the meantime, see Richard L. McCormick, "The Discovery that Business Corrupts Politics: A Reappraisal of the Origins of Progressivism," *American Historical Review*, 86 (April 1981), 247-74.

[22] Shepard, "Public Opinion," 50; Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, II, 274.

[23] Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, p. 181-84.

[24] John Mason, "Monthly and Quarterly Reviews," in George Boyce, et al., eds., *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Constable, 1978), pp. 278-93. On Harris, see the fateful article, Charles Mulato, "Some Anarchist Portraits," *The Fortnightly Review*, 56 (September 1, 1894), 315-33; and the account in Harris, *My Life and Loves* (New York: Grove Press, 1963), pp. 638-39.

[25] See Mott, "The Arena," in *A History of American Magazines 1885-1905* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 401-16; and H.F. Cline, "Benjamin Orange Flower and the *Arena*, 1889-1909," *Journalism Quarterly*, 17 (June 1940), 139-50; also Cline, "Flower and the *Arena*: Purpose and Content," *Journalism Quarterly* 17 (September 1940), 247-57.

[26] Mott, *History of American Magazines 1885-1905*, pp. 55, 499-500.

The magazine eventually reached a surprising circulation of 85,000, and was bought out by the Hearst interests in 1911.

[27] Wilson, "Rhetoric of Consumption"; Mott, History of American Magazines 1885-1905, pp. 773-88. On Page, see, among other studies, Robert J. Rusnak, Walter Hines Page and the World's Work: 1900-1913 (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1982).

[28] Mott, "The Nation," History of American Magazines 1865-1885, pp. 331-56.

[29] Mott, "The Survey and Related Magazines," in History of American Magazines 1885-1905, pp. 741-50; Clarke A. Chambers, Paul U. Kellogg and the Survey: Voices for Social Welfare and Social Justice (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971).

[30] Mott, HIstory of American Magazines 1885-1905, pp. 62, 204; Dominic Candeloro, "The Public of Louis F. Post and Progressivism," Mid-America, 56 (April 1974), 109-23; circulation pamphlet, The Public, n.d., reprinting policy statement from the first issue, April 9, 1898, in author's files.

[31] Mott, "The Outlook," History of American Magazines 1865-1885, pp. 422-35; Lyman Abbott, Reminiscences (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915); Ira V. Brown, Lyman Abbott, Christian Evolutionist (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953).

[32] Mott, "The Independent," History of American Magazines 1865-1885, pp. 367-79; William Hayes Ward, "Sixty Years of the Independent," Independent, 65 (December 10, 1908), 1345-51; Ward, "Conflicts and Conquests," Ibid., 1354-58; Ward, "The Editors," Ibid., 1359-63; Ward, "Henry C. Bowen," Ibid., 1364-66.

[33] Ward, "Sixty Years of the Independent," 1345; Hamilton Holt, "William Hayes Ward," Independent, 87 (September 11, 1916), 363-65.

[34] "The Critical Reader," Independent, 65 (November 26, 1908), 1254.

[35] Warren F. Kuehl, Hamilton Holt, Journalism, Internationalist, Educator (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1960), pp. 3-13.

[36] Kuehl, Hamilton Holt, pp. 15-16; Holt, "William Hayes Ward," 363.

[37] Kuehl, Hamilton Holt, pp. 15-17; details on Bowen's estate in clipping from New York Tribune, March 18, 1896, in author's

files.

[38] The term "survey" was just coming into vogue as a term for a social-science investigation, as in the Pittburgh Survey, conducted by the magazine that later changed its name to *The Survey*. It carried overtones of thoroughness and up-to-dateness. See Carl C. Taylor, *The Social Survey, Its History and Methods* (University of Missouri Bulletin, Social Science Series 3, October 1919).

[39] Kuehl, *Hamilton Holt*, pp. 18-19.

[40] "Special Offer," *Independent* circulation pamphlet [1900], in author's files.

[41] Holt, "William Hayes Ward," 364.

[42] Ward quoted in Holt, "William Hayes Ward," *Independent*, 87 (September 11, 1916), 363-65; quotation is on p. 364. On Holt's support of Hearst see clippings in scrapbook 33, Holt papers, Rollins College, especially the Holt letter in the New York *American* of November 6, 1905, headlined "WHY THIS REPUBLICAN IS FOR HEARST." I thank Deborah W. Walk and Gertrude F. LaFramboise of the Department of Archives, Rollins College, for their assistance in my search of the Holt papers.

[43] Note, for comparison, the offhand way in which S.S. McClure recognized that his magazine was involved in what became known as muckraking because of the coincidental publication of three investigatory articles. See "Concerning Three Articles in this Number of McClure's, and a Coincidence that May Set Us Thinking," *McClure's*, 20 (January 1903), 336.

[44] "Special Offer" pamphlet; also descriptive pamphlet of roughly the same date, headed "*The Independent*," in author's files. Twelve years later, Holt was still insisting on the superiority of the weekly; see "A Plan for an Endowed Journal," *Independent*, 73 (August 8, 1912), 299-303; reference is on p. 301.

[45] "An Editorial to Order," *Independent*, 65 (October 1, 1908), 796-98; "The Evolution of Opinion," *Ibid.*, 60 (June 14, 1906), 1437-38. Warren F. Kuehl, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Hamilton Holt*, in *Rollins College Bulletin*, 44 (September 1959), identifies editorials attributable to Holt from marked copies in the Holt papers. None of the unsigned editorials cited in this paper are so attributed, but I am inclined, on internal evidence, to conclude that not all of Holt's editorials were marked.

[46] "Special Offer" pamphlet.

[47] "What We Are Trying to Do," Independent, 70 (January 5, 1911), 53-54; "The Critical Reader," Ibid., 65 (November 26, 1908), 1253-54.

[48] Taft, Bryan, Watson, Hisgen, Debs, Gillhaus, and Chafin. See "The Candidates' Appeal," Independent, 65 (October 15, 1908), 901-902 The magazine observed editorially of Debs's candidacy that "socialism is obtaining a respectful hearing, and . . . is bringing into our American politics the fresh elements of new ideas and earnest convictions."

[49] "The Literature of Exposure," Independent, 60 (March 22, 1906), 690-91. Louis Filler attributes the editorial to Slosson, and quotes most of it in Crusaders for American Liberalism (New York, 1939; Yellow Springs: Antioch Press, 1964), pp. 257-59.

[50] "Editing a Magazine," Saturday Review of Books and Art, New York Times, November 24, 1900; reply in Ibid., December 22, 1900; "Our Magazines," Independent, 53 (February 28, 1901), 516-17; Kuehl, Hamilton Holt, pp. 25-26.

[51] Holt, "Our Contributors" and author's listing developed from Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature. Kuehl, Hamilton HOlt, pp. 22-23, describes Holt's aggressiveness in soliciting articles--for example, by sending a check with the request.

[52] An incomplete listing from the database I developed on coverage of social issues from Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature contains more than three hundred items from the Indenpendent between 1900 and 1914, almost 10 percent of the total among fifty publications. Poole: "The Meat Strike," Independent 57 (July 28, 1904), 179-84. Walling: "The Great Cripple Creek Strike," Ibid., 56 (March 10, 1904), 539-48, among others. Bullard ["Albert Edwards"]: "The Peasants' Union," Ibid., 61 (July 19, 1906), 147-52. Durland: "The Kronstadt Fiasco," Ibid., 61 (October 11, 1906), 864-67.

[53] David M. Katzman and William M. Tuttle, Jr., supply the list of seventy-five autobiographical articles in their Plain Folk: The Life Stories of Undistinguished Americans (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), pp. 195-98. Their anthology includes articles not included in the Holt collection (New York: James Pott & Company, 1906).

[54] Slosson, "Introduction," Undistinguished Americans, pp. 1-8; quotation is on p. 7.

[55] Slosson, "Introduction," pp. 7-8.

[56] Werner Sollors, ed., *The Life Stories of Undistinguished Americans* (Routledge, Kegan & Paul, 1990). [CK] Edmund Morris, "Short and Simple Annals," *New Yorker*, June 11, 1990, pp. 100-103. Morris writes that two of the articles, "The Life Story of an Itinerant Minister" and "The Life Story of a Farmer's Wife," "qualify as lasting literature." p. 102.

[57] "The Life Story of Negro Peon," originally published in *The Independent*, 56 (February 25, 1904), 409-14; and in *Life Stories of Undistinguished Americans*, pp. 183-99.

[58] Curiously, Kuehl's *Hamilton Holt* does not mention *Undistinguished Americans* in its relatively brief account of Holt's editorial career. Nor is there a reference to the series in Robert H. Bremner's otherwise comprehensive *From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States* (New York: New York University Press, 1956).

[59] See W.E.B. Du Bois's furious exchange with S.S. McClure in 1907 over a series of articles in *McClure's* by Thomas Nelson Page; Herbert Aptheker, ed., *The Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1973), I, pp. 128-129.

[60] Robert C. Bannister, Jr., "Race Relations and the Muckrakers," in John M. Harrison and Harry H. Stein, eds., *Muckraking, Past, Present and Future* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1973), pp. 45-64; quotation is on p. 47.

[61] Du Bois began to write for *The Independent* with "The Negro and Crime," 51 (May 18, 1899), 1355-57. I have found no appearances of Washington in *The Independent* before "Observations and Comparisons Abroad," 55 (November 19, 1903), 2728-30. Thereafter he contributed roughly an article each year.

[62] See the account of the Carnegie Hall conference of January 1904, called to conciliate the black factions, where Ward appeared as one of the white delegation handpicked by Washington. Louis R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington, The Wizard of Tuskegee 1901-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 71.

[63] *The Independent*, 57 (October 6, 1904), 787; Aptheker, ed., *Correspondence of DuBois*, I, pp. 92, 95.

[64] *The Independent*, 61 (October 11, 1906), 856-58.

[65] *The Independent*, 65 (September 3, 1908), 529-34. See also an editorial, "Atlanta Outdone," *Ibid.*, 65 (August 20, 1908), 442-43, Walling, "The Founding of the N.A.A.C.P.," *The Crisis*, 36 (July 1929), 226; and an undated letter from Walling to his

parents just before he and his wife left Chicago, copy in Anna Strunsky Walling papers, Yale University, microfilm edition, reel 18, folder 267.

[66] Holt to Walling, January 27, 1909, Walling to Holt, February 1, 1909, both in correspondence file, box 1, William English Walling papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. See also Walling, "Founding of the N.A.A.C.P."; Kuehl, Hamilton Holt, p. 48; Charles Flint Kellogg, NAACP, A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), I, pp. 9-33; Walling, "Science and Human Brotherhood," Independent, 66 (June 17, 1909), 318-27.

[67] Kuehl, Hamilton Holt, pp. 280; Mott, "The Independent," pp. 378-79. Holt went on to a second career, as president of Rollins College, in Florida, where he remained until two years before his death in 1951.

[68] Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," pp. 124-26.

Reflections on Realities and Possibilities: Women's Lives in New Republic Periodicals

by

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Margaret Markoe Bache, after seven years of marriage to opposition newspaper editor Benjamin Franklin Bache, gave birth to her fourth child, a boy, in the early morning hours of Sept. 3, 1798. Two days later, she was nursing her husband, as he lay dying of yellow fever in their home in Philadelphia. A French doctor had prescribed baths for Bache's fever, but the tub leaked and water stood on the floor. (1)

Margaret's life with Bache had not been easy. The daughter of a wealthy St. Croix planter, she had stood by her husband through great adversity, despite pressure from her family to leave him. (2) She had helped produce the *Aurora* in his absence, writing to him on the Fourth of July, 1795:

> Many of the Printers did not print this day, but it was thought best that your Paper should appear as there had already been one missing this week. . . Mr. Foster wished a holiday but Dr. L & all of us thought it would not do - You can have no idea how angry everybody was that there was no paper of Thursday. We were obliged to say there was an accident happened to the Press. (3)

She had asked that Bache come home as soon as possible: "I am much afraid the fatigue will be too much for you." But by the fifteenth, she had written: "Make haste Home for god sake my spirits are quite gone." (4)

Margaret and her children had been terrified when Bache's office was attacked by those who abhorred his strident opposition to the Federalists and when he was threatened in the streets for his newspaper's defense of opposition principles. Elizabeth Hewson, the woman Bache's grandfather Benjamin Franklin had hoped he would marry, wrote to her brother: "I have staid with Mrs B. Bache since I have been in town. She has frequently asked me. Poor woman, her old acquaintance have almost all deserted her. She is luckily of opinion that her husband is quite in the right. . ."(5)

On Sept. 10, Bache died at the age of twenty-nine. One hour after his death, Margaret published a public notice, describing him as "a man inflexible in virtue, unappalled by power or persecution" and announcing the temporary suspension the *Aurora*. She published the first issue under her own name on Nov. 1, saying that her love for her husband required her to honor him by continuing the paper "with inflexible fidelity to the principles upon which it was founded." (6) She urged subscribers to pay their arrears because of the calamity the family had suffered. When she was attacked as "lucious Mrs. Bache" and "Mother Bache" by her husband's archrival William Cobbett, the paper pleaded her case as "a woman, and a widow" and later "a feeble woman." (7)

The *Aurora,* published under Margaret Bache's name, continued to be the primary conveyor of Enlightenment and Jeffersonian Republican ideology and its visions of a free and equitable society. (8) But she and her female contemporaries were completely excluded from this spirit of liberation and from the promise of the Revolution generally. That was made abundantly clear by the *Aurora* itself and by other newspapers and magazines published in Philadelphia in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

The purpose of this essay is to reflect on how those periodicals interpreted the lives of women like Margaret Bache in the new republic. Based on their content, how did they portray women's realities and possibilities? Were their lives reflected, distorted and/or prescribed?

THE QUESTION IN CONTEXT

History repeats itself because no one was listening the first time.
--Anonymous

The aftermath of the American Revolution brought no revolutionary change to the lives of women in the new republic. In fact, it might have been considered a step backward. (9)

Women had, after all, been expected and encouraged to participate in the Revolution as providers of services for troops; sources of food, shelter, money and supplies; and enforcers of boycotts. To accomplish these tasks, they worked individually and together. When merchants over-charged women for food or other household goods, they commonly joined or led riots to seize the products their families needed, and they organized in quieter ways as well. In 1780, for example, women in Philadelphia proposed creating a national organization to raise money for the troops. When

General George Washington refused to allow the money to go directly to the soldiers, as the women stipulated, they bought linen and made shirts instead, knowing that shirts, unlike cash, could not be misused. (10) The Revolution had brought women into public life, broadened their interests, helped them develop organizing skills and accustomed society to their heightened level of participation. (11)

In 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* appeared in Philadelphia bookstores. While Wollstonecraft argued that the political and social tyranny of men must be broken and the principles of democracy extended to women, the reality for most women in the 1790s was quite different: "Indeed every statement of republican principles implicitly assumed that women were exceptions." (12) Their right to hold property was restricted, they could not vote and they most often did not have the opportunity to pursue an education. They generally married at sixteen, became pregnant within twelve months, had children every two years through their forties and often had dependent children at home at their deaths. They lost their looks and health by twenty-five. (13)

It is clear from this author's earlier research (14) that the tension between republican rhetoric and women's reality was resolved by new republic periodicals through promulgation of the ideal of "republican motherhood." Women were to exercise their role as citizens in the new republic at home by influencing their husbands and sons, who would move into the public arena. In this way, domesticity itself was endowed obliquely with political significance.

This essay explores the notion that how periodicals depicted this private sphere is instrumental to any understanding of how women's role in the new republic was conceptualized. Discussion of women's sphere, for example, could have entailed reflection of women's culture as it developed at this time--women embracing shared lives with other women, working in a broad context to further their contributions as citizens and taking satisfaction in those contributions. This interpretation would see women's sphere as an ideology that women themselves took part in crafting and that they valued as they combined traditional duties with civic responsibility. On the other hand, women's sphere could have been a social construction, a narrow place where women were confined physically and psychologically, a place where their contributions were stereotyped and minimized. This interpretation would see women's sphere as an ideology imposed by men, with boundaries whose creation and maintenance would require questions of power and governance. (15)

How the periodicals conceptualized women's sphere will illuminate what role they suggested for women, how they portrayed women's realities and possibilities and if they reflected, distorted and/or prescribed women's lives.

The answers to these questions should not be considered obvious. The Revolution did shake old assumptions and suggest new possibilities, and several historians have argued that new republic periodicals were part of a dialogue on women's role that grew more radical as the eighteenth century drew to a close. Mary Beth Norton has argued that new republic periodicals were "in the forefront of the new approach to women" and that "[t]he pages of these journals constituted the single most important public forum for the voicing of radical opinions on women's status and role." (16) In addition, questions raised here about women were raised in the 1790s in relation to slavery, and it is possible that some of that thinking might have spilled over. (17)

Three political party newspapers (18) and fifteen magazines (19), all published in the last decade of the eighteenth century in Philadelphia, were studied. The 1790s were a critical decade in terms of shaping the new republican experiment, and Philadelphia, seat of the new federal and state governments with a population approaching 50,000, was considered the most enlightened city in America and should have been the place most likely to espouse advanced views on women's role. (20)

The publications themselves were studied as products, with the newspapers read for two-year periods and the magazines in their entirety. Findings are based on persistent themes that emerged across the publications and are limited to discussing messages sent. The essay does not speculate about motivations of those who sent the messages or the effect, if any, on those who received them. It is useful to remember that the messages sent were generally about literate middle and upper class white women (21) and that they reveal what male editors thought people should read about women. But just as study of women as actors in their own right is essential, so is a clear understanding of the atmosphere in which they acted, an atmosphere created in part by the periodicals. These publications were the most popular source available for information and opinions on politics and other pressing questions of the day, the primary means of presenting information for public approval. Studying these earliest messages on women's role in the republic should add to understanding today's commentary on portrayal of women in the media. (22)

This essay will proceed by discussing (1) background on the eighteen periodicals in question as products of their time; (2) the reality of women's culture in the 1790s, juxtaposed with the periodicals' message on women's relationships; (3) the reality of women's public life in the 1790s, juxtaposed with the periodicals' discussion of women's sphere. The essay will conclude by arguing that the message sent by these periodicals on women's culture had no relationship whatsoever to reality and that the message sent on women's sphere narrowed possibilities of where and how women could appropriately conduct their lives.

NEW REPUBLIC PERIODICALS

It is a happy revolution in the history of the fair sex that they are now in general readers, and what is better, thinkers too.
--Ladies Magazine (23)

One result of the Revolution was that more people in America read newspapers and magazines, and Philadelphia, which was midway on the post road "from Boston in the Northeast down to Charles-town in Carolina," became a publishing center. By 1794, the city had eight newspapers, and fifteen magazines were published there in the course of the decade. (24)

The idea that newspapers improved the lives and raised the consciousness of citizens in a republic was basic to libertarian thought. Ben Franklin had said in his memoirs that he regarded his newspaper as a "Means of Instruction" for citizens in a republic, and the editor of the *Pennsylvania Packet* in 1784 wrote:

> We say (with deference to the college)
> News Papers are the spring of knowledge;

The gen'ral source throughout the nation,
Of every modern conversation. (25)

That was true especially of party newspapers, like the *Gazette of the United States* edited by John Fenno, *Porcupine's Gazette* edited by Cobbett and the *Aurora* edited by Bache, which were a central part of life in the capital as they forwarded their opinions on politics in the city, state and nation. *Porcupine's Gazette* was the most popular of the three, circulating to about 3,200 readers, but all reached more than their circulations indicated because of pass-along readership and because so many other papers around the country copied from them. (26)

Both newspapers and magazines, modeled after successful British miscellanies, carried political information, foreign and domestic news, and reports of births, deaths and marriages, as well as essays, verse, and literary excerpts, although in different proportions. While the identity of newspaper editors like Fenno, Cobbett and Bache was widely known, magazine editors sometimes were anonymous. (27) Both types of publications targeted the middle and upper classes, but magazines in particular were aimed at the elite because of their greater expense. (28) The influence of both, however, was considered to be far greater than their limited circulations and short lives might have indicated. (29)

Evidence in the publications themselves indicates that women read both newspapers and magazines. Circulation figures and the phenomenon of pass-along readership alone would suggest that the periodicals reached many women. Women placed some advertising in the newspapers, while some was directed to them. Editorial content in the form of articles and letters-to-the-editor with women's by-lines, such as "An American Lady" and "A Girl of Spirit," also appeared. (30)

Magazines specifically sought women readers and women's contributions. Noah Webster had been one of the first to do so in his *American Magazine*, published in New York in 1787 (31), but *Ladies Magazine*, which published from 1792-93 in Philadelphia, was the first American periodical directed specifically to women. Its allegorical frontis showed a woman kneeling to Liberty on a throne, presenting her with a copy of the Rights of Woman. But while it included pieces under women's pen names, it said of female authors:

"We admire them more as authors than esteem them as women." (32)

Women also mentioned reading the periodicals in their correspondence and journals. Abigail Adams, the wife of President John Adams, read both *Porcupine's Gazette* and the *Aurora*. Since her politics were more in line with the *Gazette*, she found that Bache's paper "tends to corrupt the morals of the common people." Cobbett, on the other hand, said "many good things, and he is the only thorn in Bache's side." (33) Other leading women in Federalist society discussed Cobbett and thought him clever. Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker, a Quaker whose husband was a leading Philadelphia merchant, quoted from Fenno's *Gazette* in her journal, and when Cobbett left America on June 3, 1800, she wrote that while she had never seen him in the streets of the city, "I seem to know him well." (34) One of Bache's female readers wrote to him: "I thank you for your Aurora. I welcome it every evening, as I would a pleasant, intelligent friend." (35)

As these publications transmitted the country's heritage from one generation to the next, they clearly had something to say about women to their female and male readers alike. What they had to say, however, in no way reflected women's reality.

WOMEN'S CULTURE IN THE NEW REPUBLIC

The most holy bond of society is friendship.
--Mary Wollstonecraft (36)

Women at the end of the eighteenth century lived in a largely female world, rooted for the most part in the domestic sphere. They lived "a regulated daily existence whose rhythms, purpose, and tasks were shared with other women." (37) Carroll-Smith Rosenberg has written that these supportive networks "were institutionalized in social conventions or rituals which accompanied virtually every important event in a woman's life, from birth to death." Mother-daughter relationships were at the heart of this world, with daughters working as apprentices to their older role models and grandmothers playing a significant part in this system of financial, practical and moral support. Sisters and female friends provided life-long connections, as grandmothers and mothers died and children and grandchildren took their places. In this female world, hostility toward and criticism of other women were discouraged, and women, therefore, "could develop a sense of inner security and esteem." (38)

Something of a decline in patriarchal authority in more affluent families toward the century's end also worked to free up women's lives. Remaining single, delaying marriage, separating and divorcing became viable options for some, and contraception was used more frequently. In addition, the spirit of the Reformation encouraged women to take responsibility for their relationships with God, and all of this helped them interpret their lives as they chose.(39)

"Home" meant to these women, a place where they developed "shared, female-identified values, rituals, relationships, and modes of communication that were sources of satisfaction and strength." (40) Marilyn Motz' conclusion that for Michigan women beginning about 1820 "home meant not a space but a system of relationships" is equally applicable to women in the new republic. These relationships, Motz says, provided the "central and lasting family unit that was indeed women's sphere." (41)

Women also continued these relationships outside the home, where Wollstonecraft's views on broader educational opportunities for women were widely accepted. The Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia, the first school of its kind in the United States, had been established in 1787, and in the decade of the 1790s, other such schools proliferated, promoting female friendship. Older women began to duplicate the academy experience by organizing groups to work on projects and create audiences to hear one another's essays. (42) And women visited one another frequently to quilt, spin, sew or just to talk. (43)

Adams was probably the best known example at this time of a woman who valued female friendships. She corresponded to improve her mind and polish her writing with at least four women friends from an early age. Her most widely known female friend was historian of the Revolution Mercy Otis Warren, a role model for Abigail at sixteen years her senior. The two were confidantes during the Revolution, and their friendship remained a significant source of strength for both during the years of the new republic. Abigail depended upon her friend's advice, and Mercy appreciated Abigail's encouragement of her writing as it expanded beyond poetry to playwrighting, satire and political commentary. (44)

Elizabeth Drinker and Margaret Bache provide other examples of women whose lifelong friendships with their sisters was typical for the time. Elizabeth's sister Mary lived with the Drinker family, which included five children and five servants, and did the housework in later years so that Elizabeth could amuse herself by reading. (45) Margaret wrote faithfully to her sister Betsey and spoke of friendship: "You tell me that all my old friends entertain a high esteem for me;--Friends whose affection is not diminished by absence are valuable;-endeavour to make such." She also wrote that she envied her sister's opportunity to care of their ailing grandfather, "proving your dutiful affection by nursing him in his illness." (46) And as for friends closer by, Margaret invited Ms. Hewson to stay with her when she travelled to Philadelphia, despite the fact that her husband's grandfather had seen her in Margaret's place as Ben Bache's wife. (47)

From the late eighteenth through the mid-nineteenth century, women developed a self-conscious and idealized concept of female friendship. But while this idea "became a subject of their conversation, reading, reflection, and writing (48)," it was not reflected in the periodicals of the day.

SIGNIFICANT SILENCES ON WOMEN'S REALITY

Indeed, friendship between women has rarely been recounted.
--Carolyn Heilbrun (49)

Stories of women's friendships were largely absent from the pages of these periodicals. Among the thousands of pages read, only a few pieces were found that focused on the coming together of women in friendship and support and a few other scattered references to such relationships were noted. Strong messages were sent, however, on how a woman might secure her truest and best friend--a husband--and on how she should relate to and feel about other women. The publications seemed to agree with Jonathan Swift, who said: "I never knew a tolerable woman to be fond of her own sex." (50) In the process they ignored, condemned and trivialized women's relationships with one another.

American Museum in 1790 published reports of a daughter mourning the loss of her mother and of a fifteen-year-old girl leaving the academy at Bethlehem, Pa., saying good-bye to her companions, "to whom I feel myself bound with the strongest cords of love and esteem" and with whom friendship had been "here contracted and cemented." (51) *Ladies Magazine*'s "Specimens of Female Literature" included a number of letters exchanged by women correspondents. One of these from Mrs. Savigny to Miss R_____ ended: "Adieu, my beloved friend--my sister--if possible, my more than sister." (52) And a poem several pages later, written as a dialogue between Maria and Amelia, read in part:

> Welcome, my friend, indulge not vain dispair,
> Here, unmolested, all thy wrongs declare;
> Friendship the sympathetic tear shall lend,
> And every comfort to thy heart extend. (53)

In addition, a few stories included examples of women befriending other women in illness and distress, and obituaries described them solely in terms of their relationships with others--"daughter, wife, mother, Christian and friend."(54) Letitia Clacket in 1799 wrote to Cobbett requesting more such reports of deaths, as well as births and marriages:

> These are to us, of far more importance than
> affairs of state, or the history of the war,
> and the taxes. . . and what is more important,
> than all, they are matters on which we may venture
> to talk without the least risk of contradiction. (55)

Clacket's request was not granted, and the few references to women's relationships found were most striking for their singularity: they did not constitute nearly enough to dissuade one from concluding that women's friendship in the pages of the publications was invisible. Even these few were countered by the strong message that a woman's husband was her best friend, despite some evidence to the contrary. (56) "No happiness on earth can be so great, nor any friendship so tender, as the state of matrimony," *Weekly Magazine* noted. (57) Even the recently married Mrs. Savigny wrote in that same letter to her "more than sister": feelings for a husband were such "that friends. . . were instantly forgotten." (58) Women, it seemed, were more likely to receive letters of advice and instruction from men: the girl at boarding school from her bother; the daughter from her father; the newlywed from her brother. (59)

The magazines preached that the husband/best friend was to be won through effecting an appropriate personality and appearance--neither of which was likely to conform to nature. Control of passions and cultivation of a good disposition were emphasized above all else. *Ladies Magazine* in September 1792 quoted Mary Wollstonecraft: "I wish to shew that. . . the first object of laudable ambition is to obtain a character as a human being." (60) But all of the magazines' own messages were to the contrary. Restraint of natural character defects--"scolding, crying, falling into fits, going to watering places, and running up bills"--was a fulltime pursuit. (61) When these characteristics were repressed, women could work toward the ideal: she who was always resigned in all situations, obedient, modest, moderate, diffident, demure, delicate, affable, cheerful, simple and soft. (62) The brother writing to his younger sister at boarding school made it clear that, in her case, a reformation of manners was in order:

> You may rest assured, the degree of my esteem and love will be proportioned to the merit, of which I shall think you possessed. Nor is it the love of brothers only that must thus be secured. (63)

Wollstonecraft might have been critical of women "only anxious to inspire love, when they ought to . . . exact respect (64)," but inspiring love was probably the single most incessant theme of the magazines. The quest for a husband was so central to a woman's existence that she could not possibly, if one would believe the periodicals, have had time or inclination to think of anything else. Of course, once the conquest was successful, the personality and appearance must be kept up to keep possession. Women were told that making husbands happy was the only way to find their own happiness, that they could outshine their husbands in nothing, that they "ought only to play behind the curtain; they cannot appear on the stage." (65)

When the publications did talk of women's friendships, they trivialized them by making them appear contrary to nature, superficial and nasty. Many women quoted in the magazines called their women acquaintances quarrelsome and boring and shunned them, thereby making themselves more accessible to the opposite sex. (66) While *Ladies Magazine* discussed the mutual sympathy involved in male friendships, it also noted that "persons of different sexes. . . are most likely to be capable of real friendship." The reason offered was that the remains of love created a gentleness too often missing from "common" friendships. (67)

These common friendships among women were made to sound far from desirable, largely because every woman was encouraged to view every other woman as a rival for a man's affections. The *Philadelphia Minerva* noted:

> Among women, friendship. . . commences rivalships. . . Whenever two pretty women are so lucky as to meet with the least plausible occasion to rid themselves of each other, they lay hold of it with so much eagerness, and hate one another so cordially, that one may easily judge what sort of affection had subsisted between them before. (68)

Friendships with other women, thus, had no positive value and--even worse--could be dangerous. *Ladies Magazine* referred to other women as "alien amusements" for stray husbands. And women were to consider it their fault if husbands were attracted to these creatures:

> A husband may, possibly, in his daily excursions, see many women he thinks handsomer than his wife; but it is generally her fault if he meets with one that he thinks more amiable. (69)

Even women who might not have feared other women as rivals had they believed the magazines would have considered their company a waste of time. Women were described as gathering where they could "indulge in their natural propensity to parade and ostentation." (70) They gadded about; window shopped; attended entertainments, balls and assemblies, and tittered at cards: "such is the female nature that it constantly shews a greater proclivity to the gay and the amusive, than to the sober and useful scenes of life." (71) While indulging in these entertainments, women took "more pleasure in talking than anything." But talking did not mean conversation: it meant "eternal tattling," "gossip," "evil speaking" and "discovering Blemishes." (72)

The reality of women's lives or women's culture was not reflected in these periodicals, but they clearly spelled out what they perceived to be women's place or women's sphere. The next section explores how closely that perception fit the possibilities for women in the new republic.

WOMEN'S SPHERE IN THE NEW REPUBLIC

When a woman quits her own department, she offends her husband, not merely because she obtrudes herself upon his business, but because she departs from that sphere which is assigned her in the order of society.
--American Magazine (73)

The plan for incorporating women into the promise of the Revolution as it played out in the new republic was to blend public and private concerns: women would stay at home, but there they would nurture republican husbands and educate republican sons. They would, in fact, embody the virtues of republican government and encourage those same virtues in their husbands and children. This heightened emphasis on marriage and motherhood--which the periodicals called women's sphere, department, station or post--focused on traditional tasks, but the understanding of those tasks as the necessary building blocks of a republic meant a reassessment of women's role and its significance. This reassessment justified advanced educational opportunities for women and recognized that they would need to think independently to carry out their work as citizens. (74)

This new civic role coupled with increased educational and religious opportunities led women to return to their revolutionary roots and begin to organize. They formed scores of voluntary associations--charitable, religious, reform, professional and political. These too were networks of mutual support and platforms from which to influence American politics.
Women in these groups were acting in a more politically aggressive manner, but most were doing so through their roles as housewives and in the safety of numbers of others like themselves. (75)

To carry out the mission of republican motherhood,

> women needed support and advice from one another in ways that moved beyond kinship networks and into public organization. In the process they began to create a female culture and to redefine the meaning of public life itself. (76)

The idea of women's sphere, then, was encouraging, but at the same time still constraining. Periodicals dealing with this new ideology chose to interpret it as the latter, speaking of women's sphere as if it were a physical place to which women had been relegated.

SIGNIFICANT SILENCES ON WOMEN'S POSSIBILITIES

Too much has already been said and written about woman's sphere.
--Lucy Stone (77)

Stone, editor of the *Woman's Journal*, a suffrage newspaper begun in 1869, might have written those words much earlier had she been a regular reader of new republic periodicals. These publications recognized only fleetingly that women might have parts to play in and of themselves.
The strong message sent was that women existed only to serve others. Women were stereotyped as rewards for bravery and victims of male politicians. Few reports on their associating outside the home appeared, and when they did the women involved were stereotyped and criticized. The few references made to broader possibilities for women were resoundingly drowned out by the message that women could only hope to influence men, who were the real actors in the republican drama.

In the newspapers, Fenno, Cobbett and Bache firmly fixed women in the home. They frequently depicted them offering their inspiration and love as rewards for correct behavior. Women presented standards to the troops, spurring them on to glory on America's behalf, then promising their undying love when the task was accomplished. The women of York explained in *Porcupine's Gazette* how the process worked:

> If you expect ever to obtain our love, be assured that can only be obtained by defending the Liberty, the Independence, and the

Religion of your country. (78)

The editors at the same time suggested that women should withhold sex from their lovers and husbands when their politics were incorrect and they portrayed women as suffering at the hands of whatever party they happened to oppose. Bache in the *Aurora*, for example, criticized Federalists for following the British example of mistreating and terrifying women and children. (79) Both the stereotypes--reward for bravery and victim--were, of course, played out at home. Where else would women give themselves to men as rewards or cower in fear of the enemy?

The few times that the newspapers reported women asserting themselves in public, they were belittled. Cobbett criticized the women of Middletown, Ct., for gathering on the Fourth of July, in part because they met in a public park. (80) Women in the newspapers were simply used for the editors' own political purposes, considered secondary and subservient, able only to manipulate rather than act on their own. The only indication in any of the newspapers that women were not satisfied with the role spelled out for them was an occasional ad for a run-away wife. (81)

Magazine treatment of women's sphere was similar in some respects. Republicans generally denounced acquisition of costly goods, but when about 100 women in Hartford, Ct., and Halifax, N.C., formed an association to pay strict attention to domestic economy and frugality, the *American Museum* downplayed their efforts. Though they agreed to buy no European extravagances, to dress plainly in American clothing and to avoid unnecessary expenses for visiting and entertaining, their husbands were said to be "devising other, and more extensive, plans of policy, for the salvation of. . . the United States." (82) The few stories printed about women in public life who might have been considered role models were about women who were long dead, exotic or fictional, not anything like the women who lived in the new republic. (83)

The most advanced argument in relation to women's sphere appeared in Charles Brockden Brown's Wollstonecraft-inspired "Alcuin," a dialogue between Alcuin and his hostess, Mrs. Carter, which was published in 1799 in *Weekly Magazine*. Mrs. Carter chafes at being "passed over, in the distribution of public duties, as absolutely nothing. . ." This sort of consciousness of women's marginality in terms of public life was virtually absent from the publications, but when it appeared here Alcuin made short work of it. He seemed to equate allowing women political privileges with allowing such privileges to "the young, the poor, the blacks, the stranger. . ." While he recognized that Mrs. Carter might be discontented, he argued that she was "singular" and that most women were satisfied with "the post assigned them. . . " (84) Women generally were instructed not to "effect to be singular," or they would "render themselves ridiculous." (85)

Weekly Magazine also criticized Wollstonecraft for attempting to "extend the sphere of female duties and female obligations beyond the boundary which nature, seconded by reason and custom, had presumed to point out."
(86) While her advanced ideas on women's education made sense in relation to their becoming more engaging companions and effective teachers, women never should be educated above their stations in life. "However ambitious a woman may be to command admiration abroad, her real merit is known only at home." Women were "destined to fill, in delightful succession, the stations of wife and mother, guardian of our rising offspring, counsellor of our busy anxious manhood, and the intellectual charm of our declining years." (87)

Women's sphere as conceptualized by the periodicals was a physical space--the home-- where women were to play a limited role not created by them but assigned to them by men. The message was to devote oneself privately to husband, children and, only through service to them, country. "It is by the arts of pleasing only that women can attain to any degree of consequence or power." (88)

PRESCRIPTIONS FOR A NEW REPUBLIC

If you do not appreciate the force of what you're leaving out, you are not fully in command of what you're doing.
--Phyllis Rose (89)

After her husband's death, Margaret Bache continued as the *Aurora*'s publisher while Bache's employee William Duane became its editor. On Jan. 15, 1799, she informed the *Aurora*'s compositors and pressmen that "the conduct of the *Aurora* office is entirely under the direction of Mr. Duane and that [I] cannot interfere in any shape whatever." She also notified them of their future prospects regarding raises and lay-offs:

> [W]ere she assured of being enable to do it, she would rather increase than lessen the establishment of every person employed in the Office, but she fears she cannot give more than what is given to compositors in the Printing Offices whose papers are more profitable from advertisements. . . [T]he Editor must determine. . . how many Pressmen are absolutely necessary. She flatters herself that this answer will be considered deliberately & that her peculiar situation will not be overlooked. (90)

Though Duane was "poor enough to have difficulty paying his rent for room off an alley," Margaret married him in 1801 and stayed with him as he overcame sedition indictments and was beaten, threatened with deportation and forced into hiding after being found guilty of contempt of the Senate.
(91) Neither the newspaper published under her name nor any of the other seventeen periodicals in this study reflected the reality of her life or its possibilities. Rather, the lives of women in these pages were distorted through regressive stereotyping, then shaped into women's sphere. That sphere for the periodicals clearly was a social construction based on the energy they expended in, what Kerber in another context called, "the hard and constant work. . . to build and repair its boundaries." Thus they might quote a bit of Wollstonecraft, then immediately retreat to the heavy-handed message of her "Quixotic Mania." (92)

After the Revolution, it was no longer possible to take for granted women's role in society. The utilitarian notion of women holding together the domestic sphere now had to be defended and articulated in a way that would tie them to new republic ideology. The periodicals became voices of authority in terms of disseminating a new conception of woman's role--one that kept her in the home but elevated the significance of what she did there. Women were to exert superior moral influence on republican husbands and sons as they prepared themselves to take their places in a world outside the home in which women would have no part.

The periodicals' conception of women's sphere not only rejected the more equalitarian ideas of women like Wollstonecraft, but also an interpretation of women's role that would have recognized more direct involvement on their part in terms of fashioning their own lives and contributing more directly to others'. In other words, membership in this narrowly defined sphere was not voluntary and its rules were not negotiable; the periodicals assigned women to it and expected them to adhere to its rigid expectations. Within this sphere, women's relationships with one another were viewed as nonexistent, impossible or inadvisable, since women were less than men in every way and nothing in and of themselves.

Susan Isaacs in a 1990 *New York Times* essay on depiction of women's friendships in contemporary movies wrote: "the power of [women's] friendship and their energy is diminished by their relationships with men." (93) Two hundred years, ago the power of women's friendship and their collaborative energy was extinguished by their relationships with men in the pages of these periodicals.

NOTES

(1) Jeffrey Smith, *Franklin & Bache: Envisioning the Enlightened Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 163.

(2) Shortly after her marriage, she wrote to her sister Elizabeth Markoe: "But, Betsey, why do you accuse me of want of taste &c alluding to my choice." Undated rough draft, probably December 1791, Bache Papers--Castle Collection, American Philosophical Society (APS), Philadelphia, Pa.

(3) Margaret wrote: "I was mortified that the *Aurora* did not serve in its fullest glory on this day (there was but half a paper printed). . .Mr. T is reading the proofs for Monday's paper it will be a very full one." Margaret Bache to Benjamin Franklin Bache, July 4, 1795, Ibid. Margaret had written two days earlier that she was "astonished to see the number of persons that were here for the days papers. . ." July 2, 1795, Ibid.

(4) Margaret Bache to Benjamin Franklin Bache, July 4 and 15, 1795, Ibid. On the 15th, she ended her letter: "The children are well I cannot write any more My heart is full."

(5) Elizabeth Hewson to Thomas Hewson, June 5, 1797, quoted in Smith, p. 147. See also Bernard Fay, *The two Franklins* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1933).

(6) The public notice described Bache as "a man inflexible in virtue, unappalled by power or persecution." The notice was reprinted in another Boston newspaper, the *Independent Chronicle*, on Sept. 17, 1798. See also the *Aurora*, Nov. 1, 1798; Fay, and Donald Stewart, *The Opposition Press of the Federalist Period* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1969).

(7) *Porcupine's Gazette*, Nov. 6, 1798, and the *Aurora*, Nov. 5, 8, 1798.

(8) "Being created equal and having an inalienable right to pursue happiness" were considered "simply natural, 'self-evident' truths," Smith (p. 3) writes.

(9) Sara Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: The Free Press, 1989), pp. 46-53.

(10) Each woman inscribed the shirts she made with her name, "to emphasize their personal gesture of support and solidarity as well as their intention to contribute on their own terms." Evans, p. 50.

(11) In addition, women also assumed a broader range of responsibilities on the homefront and generally were engaged in all of the occupations entered by men. Linda DePauw and Conover Hunt, *Remember the Ladies* (New York: Viking Press, 1976), p. 61-2,98, 127-8, 139.

(12) Evans, p. 55. See also Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *The Journal of American History* 75 (1988): 20; Terri Premo, *Winter Friends: Women Growing Old in the New Republic, 1785-1835* (Urbana, Il: University of Illinois Press, 1990), p. 179.

(13) Most women had five to 10 pregnancies with three to eight surviving children. DePauw and Hunt, p. 61; Mary Beth Norton,

Liberty's Daughters: the Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800 (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1980), pp. 71-2; Ann Jones, *Women Who Kill* (New York: Fawcett Columbine Books, 1980), pp. 63-70.

(14) Karen K. List, "The Post-Revolutionary Woman Idealized: Philadelphia Media's 'Republican Mother,'" *Journalism Quarterly* 66:1 (Spring 1989): 65-75.

(15) For elucidation of these different interpretations, see Kerber, who also discusses inherited role definitions; Carol Berkin, "Clio in search of her daughters/women in search of their past," *Liberal Education*, 71 (1985): 205-15; and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Politics and Culture in Women's History," *Feminist Studies* 6 (1985): 55-64.

(16) Norton, pp. 246-7. Evans (p. 63) also said "the more egalitarian voice. . . rang eloquently" in the pages of the periodicals. The dialogue encompassed the view that Nancy Cott has called "equalitarian feminism," the idea that women were individuals who had the right to develop their intellects for their own sake. See Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 202.
See also Barbara Berg, The Remember Gate: Origins of American Feminism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 19-20.

(17) In relation to class as well as race, people like Bache were aware that "[w]ealthy white men. . . were shaping the nation for their own power and benefit." Smith, p. 132, as well as pp. 96, 145. See also Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 232-46, and Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American* Magazines, 1741-1850 (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1930), pp. 57-8, 165.

(18) The newspapers studied were the Federalist *Gazette of the United States* (1789), edited by John Fenno; the Federalist *Porcupine's Gazette* (1797), edited by Cobbett; and the Republican *Aurora* (1790), edited by Bache. The *Gazette*, the official newspaper of the federal government, was read from 1789-1791, years when adoption of the Bill of Rights was debated. *Porcupine's Gazette*, the most popular newspaper of the decade, was read from 1797-1799, years which represent the life of the paper. The *Aurora*, the leading opposition paper, was read for the same period, since its competition with *Porcupine's Gazette* represented the high point of party press

rivalry. See Edwin and Michael Emery, *The Press and America* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1984), Ch. 7.

Previous research by this author looked at the latter two papers to determine what message they sent about women's political role in the new republic. See List, "Two Party Papers' Political Coverage of Women in the New Republic," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 2 (June 1985): 152-165.

(19) The 15 Philadelphia magazines studies were: *The American Monthly Review* (January-December 1795); *The American Museum* (January 1787-December 1792); *The American Universal Magazine* (January 1797-March 1798); *The Arminian Magazine* (January 1789-December 1790); *The Columbian Museum* (January 1793); *The Dessert to the True American* (July 1798-August 1799); *The Ladies Magazine* (June 1792-May 1793); *The Literary Miscellany* (1795); *The Literary Museum* (January-June 1797); *The Methodist Magazine* (January 1797-August 1798); *The Philadelphia Magazine and Review* (January-June 1799); *The Philadelphia Minerva* (February 1795-July 1798); T*he Philadelphia Monthly Magazine* (January-September 1798); *Thespian Oracle* (January 1798); and *The Weekly Magazine* (February 1798-May 1799).

Previous research by this author has looked at three magazines, *American Magazine* published in New York, and two of the above, *Ladies Magazine* and the *Weekly Magazine* to determine what they said about women's role generally. See List, "Magazine Portrayals of Women's Role in the New Republic, *Journalism History*, 13 (Summer 1986): 64-70.

(20) Philadelphia was home to the American Philosophical Society; the first antislavery societies; a flourishing theatre; Peale's Museum, with its displays of waxworks, painting and scientific curiosities; and Gray's Tavern, with the most elaborate landscape gardens in the country. Edmund S. Morgan, "The Witch and We the People," *American Heritage*, 34:5 (1983): 6-7. See also J.T. Scharf and T. Westcott, *History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts, 1884); Benjamin Davies, *Some Account of the City of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Richard Folwell, 1794); and Gary B. Nash and Billy G. Smith, "The Population of Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 99 (July 1975): 362-68.

(21) The gap between rich and poor in Philadelphia was growing wider. More than half the families owned no property, and one third

lived at the subsistence level. For a discussion of the literacy gap between American men and women, see Kenneth Lockridge, *Literacy in Colonial New England* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974), pp. 38-44, and Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), p. 222.

(22) See, for example, Susan Isaacs criticism of depiction of female friendships in contemporary movies in "Sisterhood Isn't So Powerful in the Movies," New York Times, Jan. 14, 1990.

(23) *Ladies Magazine*, March 1793, p.171.

(24) *American Magazine*, January 1741; Mott, pp. 31-2.

(25) *Pennsylvania Packett*, Sept. 22, 1784. Smith, pp. 40, 86, 135.

(26) Circulation of the *Aurora* was about 1,700, and of the *Gazette of the United States*, about 1,200. Average newspaper circulation around this time was about 600. See List, "The Role of William Cobbett in Philadelphia's Party Press, 1794-1799," *Journalism Monographs* 82 (May 1983). See also Fay and Stewart.

(27) Those editing the 15 magazines in this study whose identity were known were all men.

(28) In 1789, there were 75 post offices and 1,000 miles of post roads. The Postal Act of 1792 authorized sending newspapers in the mail, but magazines could be sent only if they paid letter rates, which were considered prohibitive. Rates became more favorable in 1794, but postmasters still could determine if the extra bulk of magazines could be handled. If so, subscribers paid 20-40 percent of subscription prices for postage. See U.S. Statutes at Large, Third Congress, Session 1, Ch. 23, Sec. 22, May 8, 1794; Richard Kielbowicz, "The Press, Post Office and Flow of News in the Early Republic," Journal of the Early Republic (Fall 1983): 267-69; Mott, pp. 16, 18, 46, 119-20.

(29) *American Museum*, begun in Philadelphia by Mathew Carey in 1787, was one of the era's most successful magazines. It began with fewer than a score of subscribers, but the first issue sold all 1,000 copies. It had 1,250 subscribers by the end of its first year, including Washington and other notables. While it published for five

years, many other magazines did not last long because unlike newspapers they relied exclusively on subscriptions for their income. Mott, pp. 67, 24-34, 101.

(30) Women advertised as shop-keepers and book binders and for places as teachers, governesses, companions and wet nurses, and other ads for products and services were headed "To the Ladies." Other female by-lines included "Miss Fair Play" and "A Lady in Dublin." See the *Aurora*, June 11, July 5 & 30, 1798, and Jan. 22 & 31, 1799, and *Porcupine's Gazette*, June 2, July 3, 4, 6 & 9 and Nov. 10, 1798.

(31) Jemima Loveleap pointed out in the first issue that women had many good ideas to contribute and they were invited to do so. The magazine published pieces under different women's pen names, but Webster is thought to have written at least some of them. He also assured his "fair readers" that "no inconsiderable pains will be taken to furnish them with entertainment." *American Magazine*, December 1787, p. 3. *Gentleman and Lady's Town and Country Magazine* also had invited female contributions in its May 1787 issue. Mott, p. 16.

(32) *Ladies Magazine*, July 1792, p. 69.

(33) Abigail Adams to Mary Cranch, Dec. 12, 1797, and March 13, 1798, in Stewart Mitchell (ed.), "New Letters of Abigail Adams," *American Antiquarian Society*, 55 (April 18, 1945-Oct. 17, 1945): 321-22.

(34) H.D. Biddle (ed.), *Extracts from the journal of Elizabeth Drinker* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1899), p. 361. See also Anne Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984) pp. 13-20.

(35) Quoted in Fay, p. 271. These women's comments are reminiscent of a woman who said recently of the *New York Daily News*: "It is a comfortable old habit. It's like a cup of coffee in the morning." The piece in which this sentiment was expressed also quoted the *News*' new publisher, Robert Maxwell, as saying the paper would be "the voice of New York for the ordinary man." *New York Times*, March 16, 1991.

(36) Wollstonecraft, quoted in Janice Raymond, *A Passion for Friends: Toward a Philosophy of Female Affection* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), p. 71.

(37) Lee Chambers-Schiller, *Liberty A Better Husband: Single Women in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 128., says : "Women looked to one another for shared values, for understanding their experience, for clarification of expectations about the future, for recognition and support in attaining goals." As the nineteenth century began to unfold, women's friendships became increasingly important, providing validation, affirmation, nurturing and encouragement of self-esteem--the love of and trust in one's self that leads to greater autonomy. Chambers-Schiller, pp. 127,148-49. 155-56.

(38) Rosenberg,"The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between
Women in Nineteenth Century America," in Cott and Elizabeth Pleck (eds), *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward A New Social History of American Women* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979), pp. 317-18, 321. See also, 322-24; Marilyn Motz, *True Sisterhood: Michigan Women and Their Kin, 1820-1920* (Albany: State University of New York Press), pp. 4-5; Premo, Part I and pp. 181-82; See also Cott, pp. 70, 125, 173, 197, 200, 205.

(39) Chambers-Schiller, pp. 1, 3, 27, 36, 38; Norton, pp. 229-236; Evans, p. 56.

(40) Susan Henry, "Changing Media History Through Women's History," in *Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values* (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1989), p. 43.

(41) Motz, pp. 3, 1.

(42) DePauw and Hunt, p. 101; Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, pp. 189-231; *Rise and Progress of the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Stewart & Cochran, 1794), Cott, *Bonds of Womanhood*, pp. 176-77, 179, and Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton, *Women of America: A History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1979), pp. 79, 81.

(43) Abigail Adams wrote from Richmond Hill, N.Y., in 1789: I have returned more than sixty visits all of them in 3 or 4 afternoons. . ." Quoted in June Sprigg, *Domestick Beings* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1984), p. 89. See also DePauw and Hunt, pp. 45-59.

(44) The friendship collapsed in 1805 when Mercy criticized John Adams' administration in *History of the American Revolution*, but the friends later reconciled. Lynne Withey, *Dearest Friend: A Life of Abigail Adams* (New York: The Free Press, 1981), pp. 45-46, 11-12. The women with whom Abigail corresponded from a young age were Hannah Storer, Eunice Paine, Mary Nicholson and Polly Palmer.

(45) Drinker's Jan. 1, 1802, journal entry, quoted in Scott, p. 18. Drinker deserved a rest since she had run the household from the age of 42 while her husband was imprisoned during the Revolution and had her last child at 46.

(46) Margaret Bache to Elizabeth Markoe, undated rough draft, probably December 1791, Bache Papers--Castle Collection, APS. See also Margaret Bache to her grandfather Isaac Hartman, March 21, 1792, Ibid.

(47) Smith, p. 147.

(48) Cott, p. 160.

(49) Carolyn Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman's Life* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1988), p. 98.

(50) Swift, quoted in Raymond, p. 151.

(51) *American Museum*, August 1787, p. 165, May 1790, p. 242, and September 1790, p. 118.

(52) Mrs. Savigny to Miss R_____, *Ladies Magazine*, July 1792, p. 80. For other such letters see: Lady Mary Wortley Montagu to Lady _____, Ibid., pp. 38-40; Miss Trevors to Miss R_____, Ibid., pp. 40-42; Clarinda to Charlotte, Ibid., August 1792, p. 137; Mrs. Pembroke to Miss Harley, Ibid; Lady Jane Grey to her sister, September 1792, p. 182; Mrs. Stanton to Miss Hervey, December 1792, pp. 41-43; a Young Lady in Tours to a friend in the country, March 1793, pp. 185-86. The Rev. John Bennet wrote in *American Museum*, September 1791, p. 145, that women made better correspondents than men:

"not cramped with the shackles and formality of rules, their thoughts are expressed spontaneously, as they flow, and become, more immediately, a lively, amusing, written conversation."

(53) *Ladies Magazine*, July 1792, p. 83.

(54) *Porcupine's Gazette*, July 26, 1798; "Narrative of the Cure of Susannah Arch," *Methodist Magazine*, January 1797, pp. 80-84; "Amelia: A Moral Tale," *Literary Museum*, nd, pp. 45-47.

(55) *Porcupine's Gazette*, Aug. 10, 1799.

(56) One writer said that communication between the sexes was so lacking that if a man married a woman with "tastes, disposition and character essentially different from his . . . he might become the father of a large family and die without discovering his mistake." A. Calhous, *A social history of the American family from colonial times to the present* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1945), p. 133. Smith-Rosenberg in "The Female World," pp. 327-28, tells of an instance when a life-long friend helped a mother care for her dying daughter, then made elaborate arrangements for the funeral, which the woman's husband did not even attend. *Ladies Magazine* reported that Lady Mary Wortley Montague said if husbands and wives were separated in Paradise, "I fancy most [women] won't like it the worse for that." November 1792, p. 278.

(57) *Weekly Magazine*, March 10, 1798, p. 153. See also *Ladies Magazine*, September 1792, p. 182; April 1793, p. 220; *American Museum*, June 1788, p. 485, also pointed out the danger of either spouse "being happy out of the company of the other."

(58) *Ladies Magazine*, June 1792, p. 80. See also August 1792, p. 127, and *Town and Country*, May 1784, p. 26, for stories about women whose marriages ended their female friendships. The latter said: "Love has taken possession of her heart, and she is no longer sensible of friendship."

(59) *Ladies Magazine*, June 1792, pp. 20-22, 35-37.

(60) *Ladies Magazine*, September 1792, p. 191.

(61) *Philadelphia Monthly*, February 1798, p. 83.

(62) *Ladies Magazine*, June 1792, p. 264; September 1792, p. 170; October 1792, p. 235; January 1793, passim; April 1793, pp. 219-20, 227-28. *Town and Country*, December 1784, p. 337; *American Museum*, March 1792, pp. 99, 194.

(63) *Ladies Magazine*, October 1792, p. 233. This particular young woman may have had problems because her brother noted in a postscript (p. 234): "You have never expressed the least desire to have my advice. . . I expected that you would frequently have invited me to give you some lectures. My expectations were ill-founded."

(64) *Ladies Magazine*, August 1792, p. 192.

(65) *Town and Country*, December 1784, p. 339; *Ladies Magazine*, June 1792, pp. 36-37; *American Museum*, June 1788, pp. 486-87.

(66) They may have agreed with Lady Montague, who said that while there were many disadvantages to being a woman at least she didn't have to marry one. Louis Kronenberger, *Kings and desperate men: Life in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: Vintage Books, 1942), p. 76. Raymond, pp. 176-77.

(67) *Ladies Magazine*, June 1792, p. 42. See also July 1792, pp. 57-59.

(68) *Philadelphia Minerva*, April 30, 1796, np. See also *Dessert to the True American*, May 26, 1799, np.

(69) *Ladies Magazine*, September 1792, p. 177. See also *American Museum*, October 1789, p. 312; *Ladies Magazine*, June 1792, p. 36; *Philadelphia Minerva*, Feb. 27, 1798, p. 122.

(70) *Ladies Magazine*, February 1793, p. 125.

(71) Ibid., December 1792, p. 126. See also *Town and Country*, May 1784, p. 25; *Weekly Magazine*, February 1798, p. 122.

(72) Two women playing cards and talking about other women grasping for husbands and not paying bills were described as "demure sluts." *Ladies Magazine*, December 1792, pp. 8, 24, 39-40; May 1793, p. 274; *Weekly Magazine*, Feb. 9, 1799, np. Isaacs in the Jan. 14, 1990, *New York Times* criticized depiction of women's

friendships in contemporary movies in a similar vein: "[T]he most intelligent women are presented as morally deficient; friends, sisters indulge in cruel gossip about each other, or routinely betray each other. . . Women get side-tracked in a way men buddies never do; they get goofy over the opposite sex. . . "

(73) *American Magazine*, March 1788, p. 244.

(74) Benjamin Rush, a lecturer at the Young Ladies Academy, epitomized this new attitude: "[Woman's life is] dedicated to the service of civic virtue; She educates her sons for it, she condemns and corrects her husband's lapses from it." Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, pp. 213, 227-230, and List, ""The Post-Revolutionary Woman Idealized."

(75) One example of such activity was the formation in Philadelphia in 1793 of the Female Society for the Relief and Employment of the Poor, a Quaker women's group that established free schools for female children. Scott, 262-75; Evans, 54-59.

(76) Evans, 66.

(77) Kerber, "Separate Spheres," p. 9. Stone, an abolitionist, believed that suffrage campaigns for women and black men should be separate. When Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony founded the National Woman Suffrage Assn. in 1869 and limited membership to women, Stone and others started the American Woman Suffrage Assn. open to men and launched their own newspaper, the *Journal*, to serve as a counterpoint to Stanton and Anthony's *The Revolution*. See Maurine Beasley and Sheila Gibbons, *Women in Media: A Documentary Source Book* (Washington, D.C.: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1977), pp. 24-5.

(78) Porcupine's Gazette, July 13, 1798. See also March 10, July 8, 1798.

(79) Cobbett, for example, considered adherence to the opposition party grounds for divorce. Porcupine's Gazette, March 8, June 8, 12, and July 14, 18, 27, 1798; Aurora, Jan. 19, March 5, July 21, 23 and 28, Aug. 13, Nov. 18, 1798, and Jan 7, 11 and 15, 1799.

(80) *Porcupine's Gazette*, July 14, 1798.

(81) *Porcupine's Works* (London: Crown & Mitre, 1801), Vol. 9, p. 344.

(82) *American Museum*, August 1797, p. 163. Smith, p. 30.

(83) Women discussed included people like Queen Elizabeth, the empress of Russia, the countess of Schwartzburg and Ella of Norway. See *Ladies Magazine*, September 1792, pp. 180-81; December 1792, pp. 51-54; January 1793, pp. 97-102; *American Museum*, March 1792, p. 210; the *Key*, January 1798, pp. 10-11.

(84) *Weekly Magazine*, Aug. 4, 7, 11, 1798. See also Virginia Sapiro, *The Political Integration of Women: Roles, Socialization, and Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), Ch. 1.

(85) *Ladies Magazine*, November 1792, p. 282.

(86) *Weekly Magazine*, April 13, 1799, p.19.

(87) American Magazine, May 1788, pp. 368-69; Weekly Magazine, Aug. 4, 1798, p. 15.

(88) *The Dessert*, Feb. 2, 1799; see also the *Key*, March 31, 1798, p. 98.

(89) Phyllis Rose, Writing on Women: Essays in a Renaissance (Middletown, Ct.: Wesleyan University Press, 1985), p. 77.

(90) "M.H. Bache's answer to the second letter of the Compositors & Pressmen," Jan. 15, 1799, and Margaret Bache to the Aurora Compositors and Pressmen, 1799, Bache Papers--Castle Collection, APS.

(91) Smith, pp. 160, 168-69.

(92) *Weekly Magazine*, April 13, 1799, p. 19; Kerber, "Separate Spheres," p. 28.

(93) Isaacs, *New York Times*, Jan 14, 1990.

An Analysis of the Failure of **Flair** Magazine

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Flair magazine had a short but memorable life. Published by Cowles Publishing of Des Moines, Iowa, **Flair** lasted only 12 issues, from February 1950 to January 1951. In that time, it was the subject of several stories in **Time** and **Newsweek**, a satire in **The Nation**, and a series of cartoons in the **New Yorker**. Since its death, the magazine has become a collector's item, valued primarily for its unusual design: vertical and horizontal half-pages, a variety of paper stocks, die-cut covers, accordian inserts and fold-outs. **Flair** also has a solid place in magazine history, rating at least passing reference in most magazine history books and textbooks.[1] In her memoirs, editor Fleur Cowles said, "Whatever **Flair** lacked in longevity it made up for in publishing immortality."[2] The hometown paper, the **Des Moines Register**, called **Flair** a pioneer in the "application of unusual graphics arts to magazine publishing."[3]

How do we explain the brevity of the life of a magazine that generated so much interest that it is still perceived as an innovator more than forty years after its death? Publisher Gardner Cowles, who made the decision to kill the magazine, said he did so because of high production costs. Editor Fleur Cowles, in later analysis, blamed the death additionally on poor marketing techniques. These are valid reasons. But do they tell the whole story? When **Flair** folded, **Time** magazine noted that "journalists (no doubt including Mike Cowles) knew the real trouble: In striving valiantly for the unusual, **Flair** had had too little old-fashioned journalistic flair itself." [4] **Newsweek** said the magazine was "perhaps more famous for the hole in its cover than its contents."[5] Merle Armitage, designer of **Look**, called **Flair** "formless and tasteless." [6]

Critics within the magazine field, then, indicated **Flair** had problems beyond marketing and production: They pointed to problems with editorial content. This criticism, and a reading of the magazine itself, raises the questions: How solid was **Flair**'s editorial content and did that content play a role in the magazine's death? The purpose of this study is to explore these questions.

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[1] See, for example, Roy Paul Nelson, *Publication Design* (Dubuque: W. C. Brown, 1987), pp. 7 and 164; Herbert Raymond Mayes, *The Magazine Maze* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1980), p.199; Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), p.86; Roland Wolseley, *Understanding Magazines* (Ames: The Iowa State Press, 1969), p.106; William H. Taft, *American Magazines for the 1980s* (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1982), p. 147.

[2] Fleur Fenton Cowles, *Friends and Memories* (New York: Reynal and Company, in association with William Morrow and Company, 1978), p. 51.

[3] "Register's 'Mike' Cowles is dead of Cancer at Age 82," Des Moines *Register*, Tuesday, July 9, 1985, p. 9.

[4] "No Flair," *Time* magazine, December 11, 1950, p. 57.

[5] "Flair's Finish," *Newsweek* magazine, December 11, 1950, p. 57.

[6] "Roy Paul Nelson, *Visits with 30 Magazine Art Directors* (New York: Magazine Publishers Association, 1968), p. 16.

History of Flair

Flair was born of the marriage of Gardner (Mike) and Fleur Cowles. Gardner Cowles, along with his brother John, owned and published the general-interest **Look,** which at that time had a booming circulation of 3,150,000. Fleur Fenton Cowles, a **Look** women's editor, had a background in advertising, having owned and operated a New York advertising agency that successfully tapped into what was then called the "class" market.

Flair magazine, geared to a sophisticated, upscale audience interested in the arts, fashion and travel, depended on Mike Cowles' understanding of magazine publishing and Fleur Cowles' understanding of the class market. In one publicity release this audience was referred to as an emerging "new society in which the appreciation of and the search for fineness and beauty and personal expression are the common bonds." [7] This market had been tapped already by Conde Nast, who pioneered the concept of "class magazines" with his magazines, including **Vogue.**[8]

Mike Cowles, quoted in **Newsweek,** said, "It struck us that there has been nothing new in the class field for many years." Confidently, he added, "We're in the class field to stay."[9]

The first issue of **Flair** was published in February, 1950. Its cover sported an illustration of a favorite pin Fleur Cowles owned shaped like a swallow's wing, which she saw as a "symbol of flight, excitement, beauty." [10] It was printed in gold on a scarlet background with one wing richly embossed, the other wing a die-cut opening to a second cover featuring an illustration by Rene Gruau. Entitled "The Spirit of Flair," the illustration depicted a fashionable woman with body thrust forth as though ready for flight. All subsequent covers featured a die-cut; several were also embossed. The magazine was 10" x13", typical of other magazines of the 1950s.

The magazine was named **Flair** because, as Fleur Cowles told **Time,** "I just kept saying the magazine had to have flair. I couldn't get around that word." [11] One friend of the Cowles, however, said what was no doubt on others' minds. "Why don't you just call it Fleur?" asked Paul Miller, vice president of The Gannett Newspapers, in a personal note to the Cowles.

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[7] The Cowles Collection, Cowles Library, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa. Much of this material is undated. Dates, when available, are cited.

[8] Marcia Prior-Miller, "Vogue, 1892-1928: An Historical Look at the Evolution of One Magazine's Editorial-Advertising-Design Mix." Presented to the Magazine Division of the Association for Education in Journalism Annual Convention, 1980, p. 7. See also, Marcia Prior-Miller, "Vogue 1929-1942: A Graphic Profile" (Master's Thesis: University of Missouri-Columbia, 1981), p. 53.

[9] "Fleur's Flair," *Newsweek* magazine, September 12, 1949, p. 49.

[10] "Girl with Roses," *Time* magazine, January 30, 1950, p.57.

[11] *Ibid.*

Artwork often featured roses, representative of Fleur Cowles, whose trademark was a rose on her lapel.[12] The first issue contained a quarter-page sheet with a reproduction of "Girl with Roses" by Lucian Freud; line drawings of roses were scattered throughout. Fleur Cowles's letter to readers was handwritten and printed in gold on a matte finish royal blue stock. The back side was blank, except for two gold roses. Other features continued the rose motif. For example, the May, 1950 cover, also printed with gold ink, featured roses surrounding a cut-out of a woman's face.

Perhaps the most noticeable aspect of **Flair's** design were the odd-shaped pages: some diagonal half pages, some vertical halves, with small booklets bound in here and there. The booklets were on subjects such as "A Letter to Americans" from Jean Cocteau in the first issue, and "Portraits by Steinberg" by Saul Steinberg, in the March, 1950 issue. In the August, 1950 issue, women could experiment with fashion by pairing different blouses and jackets with various skirts, just by turning the half page.

Time and **Newsweek** ran articles about the new magazine, both imaginatively entitled "Fleur's **Flair**." **Newsweek** called it "lushly pictorial" with "upper middle-brow tones" and said Fleur's magazine was "just as consciously high-brow as her husband's . . . **Look** is consciously homey." [13]

Time called **Flair** "full of tricks" [14] and **The Nation** said reading it "presents difficulties to anyone not equipped with an opposable thumb." [15]

The New Yorker had the most fun with **Flair**, running a series of cartoons by different artists, most of whom poked fun at the accordian-pleated fold-outs. One cartoon depicts a man holding the magazine with both hands, while his third hand opens a fold-out. Another shows two men on the subway, with the first reading the magazine, the second reading the extended fold-out. Still another has a harried-looking gent walking down the street with his copy of **Flair** under his arm, accordian-pleated pages dangling haphazardly from all sides. [16]

When they launched the new magazine, the Cowles projected a guaranteed circulation of 200,000. Despite the fanfare the magazine enjoyed, however, its debut issue had only 31,000 subscribers.[17] By the end of its first year, this had grown to only

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[12] *Ibid.*

[13] "Fleur's Flair," *Newsweek* magazine, *op.cit.*

[14] "Girl with Roses," *op.cit.*

[15] "Franco has Flair, *The Nation*, April 2, 1950.

[16] *The New Yorker*, February 11, 1950, p. 20; March 11, 1950, p. 22; April 15, 1950, p. 22; May 6, 1950, p.24.

[17] "Sugar and Spice," *Newsweek* magazine, January 30, 1950, pp. 46-47.

90,000.[18] According to the Audit Bureau of Circulation the magazine sold 245,000 copies at its peak.[19] The news from the newsstand turned especially ominous in October and November, however, when 30 percent of the magazines sent to newsstands were returned.[20]

Advertisers were no more receptive to the magazine than readers. **Space and Time,** an advertising newsletter acknowledged that the magazine was hard to read because of "the windows, accordian pleated pullouts, half and strip pages, pinned-on windows" but defended "this organized, tinted, dream-harnessed adventuring."[21] The majority of advertisers, however, weren't ready to harness their dreams to **Flair.** Fleur Cowles requested custom-designed ads "in keeping with **Flair's** content" but ad agencies saw too little profit in creating ads for only one magazine. Agencies avoided the magazine, she said, because it was "too new in format to be judged by any but the trail-blazers." [22]

Meanwhile, production costs were rising. The magazine was planned as an expensive venture, with a design that was intended to push production technology to its limits. Production, however, also pushed the budget to its limits. By November, publication costs were 35 percent above original 1949 projections. Special bindery techniques were needed for the odd-sized pages, accordian folds and inserts. Presses had to be adjusted to suit different paper stocks and the die-cut embossed covers needed special runs. According to Fleur Cowles, "It took nearly two years to persuade machines to do jobs never before done except by hand in limited, expensive quantities. It took mule-ish effort (even financing) to make high-speed equipment do such painstaking work." [23]

In a memo to staff members, Mike Cowles said he was ceasing publication of **Flair** with the January, 1950 issue, listing high production costs as a primary reason for the magazine's death. He also cited the "very critical foreign situation"--the Korean conflict and escalating cold war--as a major reason, saying "sufficient quantities of high-finish paper would not be available" because of rationing.[24]

Fleur Cowles followed that announcement with a note to readers in the January, 1950 issue, explaining that the magazine was suspending publication after only 12 issues, citing "the critical foreign situation, rising costs and the imminent shortage of quality paper."[25]

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[18] "No Flair," *Time* magazine, December 11, 1950, p. 67.

[19] Mayes, op.cit, p. 199.

[20] "No Flair," *op cit.*

[21] Robert J. Landry, "Anatomy of Light Reading," *Space and Time, Behind the Scenes in Advertising*, January 30, 1950, p.4.

[22] Fleur Fenton Cowles, *op.cit*. p. 53.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[24] Gardner Cowles, *Mike Looks Back: The Memoirs of Gardner Cowles, Publisher of Look Magazine* (New York: Gardner Cowles, 1985), p. 115.

By the end of 1950, according to Mike Cowles, losses before taxes were roughly \$2,485,000--for an actual loss after taxes of \$1,250,000. This represented a loss of nearly 75 cents per copy sold.[26]

In her memoirs, Fleur Cowles reflected on the failure of the magazine: "The money **Flair** lost will probably never again be available on the same basis. It was put into my hands by Mike Cowles to prove that artistic effort can be commercial--which for good or bad reasons it wasn't and may never be." [27] She contended that the magazine was marketed poorly: "No magazine was ever sold by such mistaken methods. **Flair**, she said, was "born to the right parents but reared by the wrong nannies." She said it needed a select direct-mail readership and a higher selling price. Instead, it was "put up for sale on the most popular-priced and competitive marketplaces of America, the newsstand." [28]

Magazine Successes and Failures

Failure in the magazine field is far more common than success. Estimates vary, but Mogel suggests that only one out of every ten magazines lasts more than a year.[29] Several common reasons for success have been noted by magazine researchers and analysts. Others have focused, with similar conclusions, on magazine failures. A theoretical model, then, might be drawn to include the five elements most regularly cited:

1. A well focused editorial concept; [30] which
    a. meets a real or perceived need of an identified audience, and
    b. presents the information in a manner that appeals to that audience;
2. A clear understanding of and connection with the audience;
3. Adequate financial support;
4. A well-planned marketing and distribution system;
5. Solid management.

In 1969, Hollstein surveyed 102 publishers of specialized consumer magazines on the factors contributing to publishing success, then rank-ordered responses. At the top on his list was a "valid editorial concept" followed by a need for a "strong bond with the audience," solid advertising support and a well-planned and financially sound distribution system.[31]

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[25] "Smile and Farewell," *Flair Magazine*, January, 1950, p. 25

[26] Gardner Cowles, *op.cit.*

[27] Fleur Fenton Cowles, *op.cit*, p. 55.

[28] Fleur Fenton Cowles, *op cit*, p. 53.

[29] Leonard Mogel, *The Magazine* 2nd. ed., (Chester, Connecticut: Globe Pequot Press, 1988), p. 1.

[30] For the purposes of this study, editorial concept is considered as including both editorial philosophy and editorial formula. Editorial philosophy is defined as the magazine's overall approach to content and audience; editorial formula is defined as the implementation of the philosophy.

Click and Baird note that magazines succeed if they "represent the right idea at the right time, offering information or editorial service that appeals to a sufficient number of potential readers who in turn appeal to a sufficient number of advertisers."[32] Husni, in a study of 234 new magazines published between 1979 and 1983, concluded that the successful magazines offered readers "better content and more appealing advertising."[33]

Several analysts who have looked at magazine failures offer conclusions that parallel the success model. Kobak says the primary reason for the failure of most magazines is lack of reader interest and a loss of editorial focus, which can kill previously successful magazines as times and audience interests change.[34] A major error in publishing new magazines, he says, is in creating titles nobody wants, titles that are of interest to the staff but which hold little appeal to a larger group of readers. [35]

Harlan Logan, publishing consultant for **Scribners**, looked at the problem during the era of the large, general-interest magazines and, not surprisingly, emphasized audience less than analysts studying contemporary special interest magazines. Nevertheless, his conclusions often mirror Holstein's. Magazines failed, Logan said, because they lacked an "editorial reason for existence," a "clearly defined editorial pattern" and a solid advertising base. [36] While Logan's comments are four decades old, they are repeated often by contemporary magazine scholars. [37]

Poor management is noted regularly as a factor in magazine failures. It appears so regularly, in fact, that reason suggests that its opposite -- solid management -- be included as an essential element in the success model. Kobak notes management's loss of control as a factor in magazine failure. All magazines have life cycles, he says, which means they eventually will die. To keep a magazine alive as long as possible, management must constantly ask if the magazine's field of interest still exists, if the magazine is serving that field, and if it is serving its readers. [38] As reasons for magazine failure, Logan noted poor budgeting and scheduling, lack of understanding of magazine publishing and of the competition, and inadequate information on staff members.[39] The respondents in Hollstein's study said magazines failed because of "managerial inexperience or incompetence." Only 13 respondents, or 12 percent, listed high production costs as the primary cause of magazine failure.[40]

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[31] Milton Hollstein, *Magazines in Search of an Audience* (Magazine Publishers Association), p. 1.

[32] J.W. Click and Russell Baird, *Magazine Editing and Production* . 3rd. ed. (Dubuque: W.C. Brown, 1983), p. 18.

[33] Samir A. Husni, "A Typical American Consumer Magazine of the 1980s." Presented to the Magazine Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Annual Convention, 1984.

[34] James B. Kobak, "The Life Cycle of a Magazine," *Magazine Publishing Management* (New Canaan, Connecticut: Folio Magazine Publishing Corporation, 1976), p. 35.

[35] James B. Kobak, "How to Destroy a Magazine: Let Me Count the Ways," *Magazine Publishing Management* (New Canaan, Connecticut: Folio Magazine Publishing Corporation, 1976), p. 42.

[36] Peterson, *op.cit*, p. 81.

[37] See Click and Baird, *op.cit.* p.36 and Peterson, *op.cit.*, p. 81.

[38] Kobak, *op. cit*, pp. 36-37.

TV-Cable Week, perhaps one of the most notorious magazine failures of recent years, suffered, according to Byron, from the "business school orientation" that created a product geared not the reader's needs but, rather, to the needs of the MBAs who started it. These needs included making use of analytical skills taught at Harvard, and making a mark on the corporate environment.[41]

The reasons given by the editor and publisher of **Flair** for the magazine's failure, then, fit easily into the suggested success model. Fleur Cowles said the magazine died because it lacked a solid marketing and distribution system, the fourth element in the model. Mike Cowles said it lacked financial strength, the third element in the model. Neither questioned the magazine's editorial concept, the first element in the model. Magazine professionals at the time of **Flair**'s death, however, suggested the magazine's editorial concept was weak.

A cursory look at **Flair** suggests the magazine's editorial mix lacked consistency which, Root argues, is the foundation of a strong editorial formula.[42] An initial reading of material from Cowles Publishing suggested that this inconsistency began in the planning stages of the magazine. This study's hypothesis, then, is that a contributing factor in **Flair** magazine's death was an editorial concept characterized by a lack of consistency in both the planning stages and in the actual publication. It is further hypothesized that this lack of consistency carried over into a failure to develop an advertising mix that could support the editorial concept and maintain reader interest.

Research Design

To determine the strength of **Flair**'s editorial content, the study was designed to incorporate both historical and content analysis. The historical analysis, based on archival material from Cowles Publishing, examined the pre-publication evolution of the editorial concept; the content analysis studied the implementation of that concept. In this way, it was possible not only to study the magazine itself, but also to look at the management decisions that determined the editorial content. A basic premise of this paper, then, is that editorial content does not exist in a vacuum but is influenced by organizational decisions that determine content.

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[39] Logan, *op.cit.*

[40] Hollstein, *op.cit.*, p. 25.

[41] Christopher Byron, *The Fanciest Dive* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1986), p. 272.

[42] Root listed four elements essential to a magazine formula: variety, balance, consistency and purposes (or understanding the goals of the magazine). Root underscores the importance of consistency by noting that "the simple realities of survival mean that the subscribers must be kept happy and the newsstand buyers be kept coming back by giving them a consistent product." See Robert Root, *Modern Magazine Editing* (Dubuque: W.C. Brown, 1966), pp. 54-57.

The content analysis was developed to study **Flair's** editorial concept by examining the editorial and advertising mixes. The editorial mix--the overall editorial content of the magazine--is an observable, thus testable, manifestation of the magazine's editorial formula. As noted earlier, a magazine's philosophy and formula together comprise its editorial concept. Thus, studying the editorial mix is a means of studying the editorial concept. Because advertising typically comprises a critical portion of the information a magazine provides its readers, and in a class magazine is determined by the editorial mix,[43] the advertising mix was also analyzed.

Root measured consistency, using content analysis, by determining the percentage of the total content given to each of the predetermined subject areas which comprise the editorial mix within issues as well as over time.[44] This measure, while appropriate in many contexts, was judged inadequate for the current study because it offers no means of comparing the content the editors said they planned to provide with the content that actually appeared in the magazine. Ferguson, Kreshel and Tinkham used the concepts of latent and manifest content to study advertising consistency in **Ms.** magazine.[45] Adapting this work to the current study, consistency was defined and measured in two ways:

1. The relative amounts of editorial and advertising allocated to each topic area, measured in number of articles or advertisements and total pages provided for each topic area within issues and over time (the **latent editorial mix**), and

2. The match between the importance of each area, as stated in editorial plans (the **intended editorial mix**) and the actual importance given those areas in the final product (the **manifest editorial mix**).

Every article in each of the 12 issues of **Flair** from February,1950 to January,1951 was read and coded by topic covered, general subject area, length, type of article (department or feature) and date of issue. Articles were then clustered according to common subject areas identified in the first step; these clusters comprise the latent editorial mix. Then, articles were clustered using the six categories of the intended editorial mix to form the manifest editorial mix. To prevent bias in determining content areas, independent coders were used. Coders were not given access to the intended mix prior to sorting articles for the latent editorial mix.

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[43] Prior-Miller, *op. cit.*

[44] Root, op. cit., p. 56.

[45] Jill Hicks Ferguson, Peggy J. Kreshel and Spencer F. Tinkham, "In the Pages of Ms.: Sex Role Portrayals of Women in Advertising, *Journal of Advertising*, Volume 19, Number 1, 1990.

The historical analysis of editorial planning showed no differentiation being made between features and departments. Therefore, both were treated equally as part of the respective editorial mixes. Subject area was the sole criterion for placement in the mixes.

The manifest advertising mix and latent advertising mix of **Flair** were analyzed using the same criteria used in studying the editorial mix.

Results: Historical Analysis

The magazine that became **Flair** arrived at its first issue through a circuitous, and seemingly confused, route. In a September, 1948 letter to Arnold Gingrich, Mike Cowles spoke of creating a "new man's magazine" [46]which would combine various elements of **Esquire, Pic, Field and Stream, Outdoor Life** and **Holiday.** He offered Gingrich the opportunity to work with Cowles Publishing to start such a magazine, at a salary of $2,000 a month. Gingrich, founding editor of **Esquire**, was on sabbatical in Switzerland.

However, Gingrich, in his memoirs, said Mike Cowles lured him back from Switzerland to work on a "left-wing Republican magazine" and that Fleur "flanked us by turning it into what was commonly regarded as a pansy's home journal." [47]

No record was found in the Cowles Collection of plans for a liberal Republican magazine, but in a letter of agreement dated June,1949, Gardner Cowles offered Gingrich the position of general manager of a new magazine tentatively titled **Flair**, with Fleur Cowles as editor. Gingrich's job would involve "non-editorial matters" such as production, promotion and business operations and "all final decisions with respect to the editorial content" were to be made by Fleur Cowles. The ante on Gingrich's salary was upped to $30,000 a year. No mention is made in the letter of the type of publication being planned.

Correspondence throughout this period shows the evolution of the new magazine, which was renamed **Clear** for a short time. In early stages, content included cuisine, which was later dropped and replaced with literature. Humor was included at one point, and theater drifted in and out as a content category. Consistent throughout is an emphasis on the arts, fashion and "decoration" (see table 1).

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[46] All references to correspondence and prepublication material on **Flair** comes from The Cowles Collection, Cowles Library, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa. Much of this material is undated. Dates, when available, are cited.

[47] Arnold Gingrich, *Nothing But People. The Early Days at Esquire* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1971), p. 180.

In all stages, however, references to design are more specific and clear than references to philosophy or content . A planning paper dated March 31, 1949 offers a "List of Clear Differences," referring to the magazine then called **Clear**.[48] They included self-contained multiple page inserts, unusual production devices, a variety of printing surfaces and textures, and "interrupters" consisting of different page shapes and inserts.

A second paper dated the next day, April 1, 1949, calls **Clear** a "large and luxurious publication of distinctive format." Moreover, it adds, because the magazine "is itself a thing of beauty, it furnishes in its each appearance its own excuse for being." A prepublication script refers to the magazine, now called **Flair**, as "the most beautiful magazine in America" and a brochure from the same period calls it a "large and elegant monthly." A September 7, 1949 press release announcing the new magazine emphasizes the use of "several different printing processes and unusual paper stocks."

Flair was positioned against ten magazines seeking to serve the same audience: **House and Garden, House Beautiful, Vogue, Harper's Bazaar, Holiday, The New Yorker, Atlantic Monthly, Harpers, Saturday Review of Literature** and **Town and Country.** The April 1, 1949 planning paper discussed the hazards of too close a resemblance to these magazines and suggested humor as a point of difference. Humor, the paper noted, was "completely lacking in all magazines in this field."

In a pre-publication script for a presentation on **Flair** to advertisers, the Cowles said their plan was to market the magazine using direct mail to "carefully selected lists" which would include book club subscribers, club women, career women, professional people and college graduates. The script noted that results of tests to such readers were successful, especially from purchasers of quality items.

The April 1 planning paper suggested a cover price of 60 cents, setting the magazine apart from the competitors, which were still selling for 50 cents.[49] Ultimately, though, the magazine was primarily marketed through the same mass market newsstands used by its sister publication, **Look**, and was sold for 50 cents, as were all its competitors.

In the first issue, Fleur Cowles used a handwritten note to explain the magazine to readers. Her plan emphasized variety and graphic experimentation:

> There have been great adventures in paper and in printing and in the presentation of the graphic arts in the last decade. . .unhappily, few of them

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[48] The planning papers were unsigned, but bear the notation, at the bottom "Arnold Gingrich:bw."

[49] In fact, Husni found that successful magazines had higher cover prices than unsuccessful ones. See Husni, *op. cit*, p. 45.

> for the public at large. I have longed to introduce a magazine daring enough to utilize the best of these adventures. A magazine which combines, for the first time under one set of covers, the best in the arts: literature, fashion, humor, decoration, travel and entertainment.
>
> This copy of **Flair** shows that it can be done; it is proof that a magazine need no longer be stolidly frozen to the familiar format. **Flair** can, and will, vary from issue to issue, from year to year, assuring you that most delicious of all rewards -- a sense of surprise, a joy of discovery. For the young in heart, men and women, I believe our efforts will help give a vital contemporary direction and fullness to American life.[50]

Fleur Cowles said she was planning a magazine for a class audience. At the same time, however, she envisioned **Flair** as a general interest arts magazine. In her memoirs she says, "I thought it made sense to publish one magazine, with pertinent coverage on each of the categories for which there is now a separate magazine, a beautiful new condensation of many magazines within the covers of one--the first honestly general magazine of all the arts." An emphasis on format over content, however, is again obvious when she states:

> If a feature would be better in dimension than on flat pages, why not fold half-pages inside double-page spreads? If a feature was significant enough, why not bind it as 'a little book' into each issue of **Flair**, giving it a special focus? If a feature was better 'translated' on textured paper, why use shiny paper? If a hand-fed offset printing or hand-fed gravure suited a photographic essay better than letterpress, why not use it?
>
> If a painting was good enough to frame, why not print it on properly heavy stock? Why not bind little accordian folders into each issue to give the feeling of something more personal to the content? In fact, why not create a magazine with an element of surprise in every issue?[51]

Results: Content Analysis

Tables 1 through 5 provide data from the content analysis for comparison of the latent and manifest editorial and advertising mixes. This comparison provides a means of examining the strength of **Flair**'s editorial content as a factor in the failure of the magazine.

The **intended editorial mix**, as previously noted, is the model against which other mixes can be analyzed. The intended mix, defined as the plan for the editorial content described in the editor's statement in the first issue of **Flair** magazine, had six categories: literature, fashion, humor, decoration, travel and entertainment.

Because no information was provided in the magazine or elsewhere about intended proportions for the coverage of topics in this editorial mix, the researchers assumed that the subject areas were listed in descending order of importance: the first, the most important; the last, the least. Table 1 reflects this hierarchy and compares the final intended editorial mix with those developed in **Flair**'s year-long planning process.

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[50] *Flair* magazine, February, 1950, p. 23.

[51] Fleur Fenton Cowles, *op.cit.*, p.54

The **manifest editorial mix** was identified as the editorial staff's implementation of the intended mix. It was measured by categorizing all articles, departments and advertising found in the 12 issues of the magazine into the six categories identified by the intended mix. Articles, departments and advertising that did not logically fall into the six categories were placed in a separate category: Other.

Table 2 shows the subject areas, total number of issues in which each subject area appeared, the total number of articles each month, the total number of pages each month for each category, and the totals in each category for the year. Humor was included in only eight of the 12 issues. Every other category in the intended mix appeared in all 12 issues.

An analysis of this table indicates that the proportions in which the content appeared were at variance with the magazine's intended mix. The data suggest that the editors did not, in fact, provide the type of content they had planned. For example, decoration (Decor) ranks first both in total number of articles (95) and pages (249.75), appeared in all 12 issues of the magazine, and reached a high in June, 1950, with 15 articles covering 40.5 pages. However, decoration was fourth in importance in the intended mix.

In comparison, the primary category of the intended mix, literature, was ranked sixth both in total number of articles (39) and total pages (94.25). Humor, which was ranked third in the intended mix, ranked last in the manifest mix, coming in seventh both in total articles (13) and number of pages (35.56).

The magazine's **latent editorial mix** was identified as the observable mix of content that logically emerged from analysis of the content of the articles and departments, without reference to the intended mix. It was measured by categorizing all articles, departments and advertising by general topic or product. Articles and departments that did not logically fall into the emerging categories were placed in a separate category: Other.

Table 3 shows the subject areas, the total number of issues in which each subject area appeared, the total number of articles each month, the total number of pages each month for each category and totals in each subject area for the year.

The editorial content of **Flair** naturally fell into 14 different topical areas. Fashion, personalities, arts, and travel appeared in every issue; every issue also had information content that did not naturally fall into one of the 13 named categories.

Further analysis of this table indicates that the form the magazine took bore little resemblance to the form its editors intended. The intended mix ranked literature first, yet it ranked 10th in total number of articles (13) and 11th in total number of pages (38.5) and appeared in only 9 issues. Personalities, which was not even included in the intended mix, ranked second in total number of articles (56) and total pages (131) and appeared in every issue. Several other subject areas, which were not in the intended mix, appeared in multiple issues: Social trends, 11 issues; health and beauty, lifestyles, 9 issues each; politics and food, 8 each; and new products, 12.

The historical analysis provided no insight into the intended **advertising mix**: neither were materials found that indicated an advertising sales plan based on the editorial mix. The mix that naturally evolved--the latent mix--had 11 categories (table 4 and later analysis to come). Of these categories, five (fashion, beauty, food, decor and other) appeared in every issue. Travel products were advertised in 11 issues; kitchen and other household products in 10. Products related to entertainment appeared in nine; jewelry, and autos and auto supplies each appeared in eight. Literature appeared in only 7.

Working with the manifest mix (table 5), it was possible to categorize advertising into five of the six categories: literature, fashion, decor, travel and entertainment. However, again an "Other" category was needed to absorb advertisements that did not logically fall into the categories designated by the intended mix. No advertisements that could be categorized as "humor" were identified. Fashion, decor and entertainment ads appeared in all 12 issues, as did Other; travel appeared in 11. Literature appeared in only 7 issues (table 5).

Thus the data analysis provided rankings of advertising that, when compared with both the intended and manifest editorial mix, evidence no consistency in number of appearances, number of advertisements or number of pages. This inconsistency holds within issues as well as over time.

In its year of publication, **Flair** had an overall editorial to advertising ratio of 85 to 15. Of the total 1260.25 pages published, 1071.57 were editorial and 188.68 were advertising (table 6). The highest number of advertising pages (31.25) appeared in Flair's first issue (February 1950), for less than 25% of that issue's total pages. The lowest number of advertising pages (5) appeared in the July, 1951 issue, for less than 6% of that issue's total pages.

Additional Findings: Although not part of the research design, data from the content analysis provided additional insight into editorial consistency in **Flair**'s approach to departments and the use of themes in issues.

Table 7 shows the appearance of departments from month to month in the magazine's 12 issues. Although 12 discrete departments were published during **Flair**'s 12-month life, only three were published in every issue: "With Flair This Month," "Flair Finds" and "Flair Personified."

Six were published in fewer than half the issues: "Food," "Travel Brief," "Mail from Flair Correspondents," " Come June (Or appropriate month)," "Flair Foresees" and Message from the Editor."

Only one department appeared in 11 issues: "It's About Time," two others appeared in more than half the issues: "Flair Source Information" and "Top Billing."

After the first issue, **Flair** introduced themes. However they, likewise, were irregular. The first issue of **Flair** did not have a stated theme. In the second issue, each department had a theme. Each of the ten remaining issues had a designated issue theme.

Conclusions

The historical and content analyses suggest the study hypothesis is upheld: A contributing factor in **Flair** magazine's death was an editorial concept characterized by a lack of consistency in both the planning stages and in the actual publication.

It should be acknowledged that some inconsistency occurs even in the most successful magazines, but not to the extent that it prevents the establishment of audience and advertiser loyalty. The history of **Flair** is a history of inconsistency. In their pre-publication materials, the publisher and editor failed to provide a consistent vision of the new magazine's formula, for themselves, for advertisers or for potential readers.

Some of the early references to the new Cowles publication describe a magazine that bears little resemblance to the magazine that ultimately was published as **Flair**. Moreover, the comparisons between the intended, manifest and latent mixes show inconsistencies throughout **Flair**'s one-year life. The magazine was first proposed as a men's magazine, then as a liberal Republican magazine. Content was to include humor at one point, cuisine at another, literature and theatre at still others. Cuisine never did materialize, and humor was a minor component. Topical areas, such as politics and social trends, were introduced that appeared to have no direct fit with the intended editorial mix. The largest category of actual content--personalities--was never mentioned in the planning stages.

A reader newly introduced to **Flair** in 1950 might well have wondered what sort of magazine this was to be: A fashion magazine? A home decorating magazine? A travel magazine? Had this reader found a department in an early issue that particularly appealed, chances are good that she would not have found that department again until several months later, if at all. Inconsistencies were also observed in the use of the thematic approach to editing each issue. The first issue had no theme, the second assigned themes to departments; subsequent issues were totally thematic.

In her letter to readers in the first issue of **Flair**, Fleur Cowles suggests she intended her magazine to be built on variety rather than consistency. Intentional or not, lack of consistency resulted in a weak editorial concept. An established magazine might have the latitude to experiment with variety, and to eschew consistency. This study suggests that **Flair**, as a new magazine, failed to build the necessary identity because of such experimentation.

These analyses support the conclusion that the editorial concept played a role in the death of **Flair**. A magazine's editorial concept is the foundation on which its strength is built, and a magazine is sold to advertisers and readers based on that editorial foundation. The best marketing campaign cannot sell a weak product -- at least not more than once. **Flair** magazine lacked the primary ingredient for success: a well focused editorial concept. Without that consistent editorial concept, it lacked the strong foundation on which to build audience and advertiser support.

Discussion

When a major American magazine dies, the factors leading to its death are often discussed at length, both in the mass media and in books documenting the events leading to the death. However, similar attention is less frequently given to magazines that do not survive their first year, possibly because there are so many. If the magazine was introduced with great fanfare, its death may be marked by a short news clip; lesser magazines seldom are given even a courtesy obituary.

According to the success model, a successful magazine will have: a well focused editorial concept, which meets a real or perceived need of an identified audience, and presents the information in a manner that appeals to that audience; a clear understanding of and connection with the audience; adequate financial support; and a well-planned support system, including marketing and distribution. Although this study was designed to analyze only the role of the first element of the model, editorial concept, on the failure of **Flair** magazine, the historical analysis suggested that the magazine may also have failed because of management decisions, especially relating to marketing and distribution.

The history of magazines is full of examples of titles that took years to make a profit (e.g. **Sports Illustrated**) or which floundered for several issues before finding the right editorial mix (e.g.**Vanity Fair**). The management support these magazines enjoyed was not apparent with **Flair**.

In fact, **Flair** was a magazine not only at odds with itself, but also with its publisher. When the first issue of the magazine was introduced, Mike Cowles said he was in the class field to stay. In his memoirs he says he wished he'd never started the magazine. In addition, he hired a renowned magazine editor to work on the magazine but gave him a job completely removed from editing. Consistency takes time and nurturing. Mike Cowles' statements indicate he might have given too little of both.

Mike Cowles' only regret seemed to be in starting the magazine in the first place. He said he doubted he would have done so if Fleur "hadn't been such a persuasive saleswoman." He said he was reluctant to publish the magazine because neither he nor Fleur had experience in producing a class magazine, but he gave his approval because Fleur had handled high fashion accounts at her advertising agency . His final assessment: " I'm sure I should never have started publishing **Flair**. . . ." [52]

Cowles Publishing was highly successful at publishing for a mass market audience; the company as a whole might have been out of sync with a highly specialized magazine such as **Flair.** Fleur Cowles perceived **Flair** as a general interest arts magazine, yet it was targeted to a specialized audience. She saw it as a class magazine, yet publisher Mike Cowles distributed it like a mass market magazine.

Fleur Cowles said the magazine was marketed poorly and suggested it needed a select direct-mail readership and a higher selling price. It wasn't a typical newsstand magazine--it was intentionally atypical--yet it was marketed by standard methods.

Mike Cowles said he was discontinuing the magazine primarily because of high production costs. **Flair** was, in fact, expensive to produce and production costs were no doubt a factor in its death. Wolseley attributes the failure of **Flair** to "its sometimes complicated typography and make-up," factors which led to increased production costs. [53] In fact, 1950 saw a major increase in the cost of paper, with Canadian mills increasing their rates from $6 to $10 a ton. [54]

Adding to budgeting problems, the high production costs weren't met with advertising income, even though the business climate for magazines in general was positive in 1950: Ad income increased three percent in all magazines for the year and 56 magazines raised their prices. [55] In fact, 1950 saw an increase in overall magazine advertising. At a time when magazines were ad heavy, then, with successful books having more than 60 percent advertising, **Flair** could muster only 15 percent advertising. **Flair** didn't share in the advertising boom, according to Fleur Cowles, because she requested custom-designed ads but ad agencies saw too little profit in creating ads for only one magazine.

Perhaps the magazine could have been more financially solvent had the cover price been raised and the marketing plan revised to take the magazine out of the mass market and make it an exclusive publication, truly targeted to a class audience, all suggestions made during the magazine's planning process and reiterated by Fleur Cowles in her memoirs, but never implemented.

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[52] Gardner Cowles, *op.cit*, pp. 114-115.

[53] Wolseley, *op. cit*, p. 106.

[54] *Advertising Agency, Advertising and Selling*, December, 1950, p. 82.

[55] *Ibid*.

Viewed in this context, then, it may be possible to restructure the five-step success model in a way that emphasizes the importance of editorial concept as a building block for all other elements of magazine development and presents magazine management as the backdrop against which all decisions are made. Table 8 offers such a theoretical model: the building block model.

While magazine scholars and professionals have long emphasized the importance of editorial concept , it has been presented as one element among many -- usually the primary element, but one which requires all the other elements for success. The building block model provides a different view, setting editorial concept apart from all other elements, emphasizing it as *the* essential element, without which a magazine will not succeed. Likewise, scholars see management decisions as an essential part of a magazine's success. The building block model makes management the context in which all decisions are made.

Table 9 presents a causal model based on the same assumptions as the building block model. This causal model, then, offers researchers a framework for further study.

The present study suggests support for the importance of a well-articulated editorial concept as a primary factor in the success of a new magazine. Additional evidence, however, is needed. Empirical studies of all elements and their interrelationships would strengthen the concept of the building block model to determine the roles they play in the success or failure of a magazine.

The magazine field as a whole lacks empirical analyses of magazine successes and failures, specifically of editorial concepts, an odd deficit considering how such studies could aid magazine professionals and scholars alike. No other studies of consistency in the editorial or advertising mixes of magazines that died after their first year of publication were found in the literature. Neither were such studies found of successful magazines. As a result, the findings of this study cannot be compared with data from other magazines, whether successful or unsuccessful. This study, however, may provide baseline data with which the results of future studies of magazine failures and successes might be compared. Such studies might validate, or invalidate, the building block model.

Additional studies could also strengthen our understanding of editorial concept. This study does not attempt to measure other dimensions of editorial strength or weakness beyond the consistency of editorial concept. The researchers did not look at writing quality or design strength, for example. Additional studies could help clarify the definition of editorial concept by analyzing such elements.

Additional study and research are needed to provide stronger theoretical and empirical bases for the initial sucess model used in this study and for the proposed building block model as well as the place of these models in mass communications theory as a whole.

Flair made its mark on magazine history through design and production innovation. These alone weren't enough to sustain the publication, however. Had management focused more on a consistent editorial product than on the presentation of that product, perhaps the story of **Flair** could have had a different ending.

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TABLE 1
Evolution of Flair's Intended Editorial Mix
March, 1949 - February 1950

Editorial Content as Presented in Prepublication Stages by Cowles Publishing:

Date Issued:*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
03/31/49	Fashion	Arts	Travel	Entertainment	Cuisine	Decor	
04/01/49	Fashion	Arts	Decor	Entertainment	Literature	Modern Life	
09/07/49	Fashion	Arts	Literature	Travel	Decor	Theater	Entertainment
Prior to 01/27/50	Arts	Literature	Fashion	Travel	Decor	Entertainment	
Undated/ PrePub	Fashion	Arts	Literature	Travel	Decor	Theater	Entertainment
Final Intended Editorial Mix							
02/1950**	Lit	Fashion	Humor	Decor	Travel	Entertainment	

* Dates refer to publicity and planning materials found in the Cowles Collection

** Listing appearing in Fleur Cowles' letter to readers in Flair's first issue

TABLE 2
Manifest Editorial Mix* in Flair
February 1950-January 1951

Editorial Subject Areas

	Literature articles/pages		Fashion articles/pages		Humor articles/pages		Decor articles/pages		Travel articles/pages		Entertainment articles/pages		Other articles/pages	
Rank	(6)	(6)	(2)	(2)	(7)	(7)	(1)	(1)	(5)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(3)	(4)
February	5	14	8	16.5	2	3	5	16.25	4	27.5	7	9.5	5	12.5
March	3	4.5	7	18			10	30.75	5	13	12	20	4	8.5
April	5	12	1	17	1	2	8	15.75	7	24.5	8	10	5	10.5
May	3	9	9	17			12	31	3	13	8	13	8	12.5
June	5	24	5	14			15	40.5	2	8	3	3.5	3	6.5
July	3	7	5	13	2	3	5	9	2	6.5	9	21.5	6	22.81
August	3	8	10	23	1	10.56	5	12	2	3	2	3.5	6	11.5
September	2	2	9	23	1	2.5	3	27	1	27	2	3.5	6	12.25
October	2	1.5	10	20	2	4.5	8	15	5	11.75	3	15	5	11
November	1	1	7	18.75	3	5	9	18	3	14.75	7	12.75	6	15.25
December	4	7.75	7	16			11	29	6	12	6	22.5	14	26.75
January	3	3.5	10	20.4	1	5	4	5.5	8	27	2	4	8	15.55
Totals	39	94.25	88	216.65	13	35.56	95	249.75	48	188	69	138.75	76	165.61
Total Issues	12		12		8		12		12		12		12	

* As determined by the editorial mix described in the editor's note, February, 1950 issue

TABLE 3
Latent Editorial Mix in Flair
February 1950-January 1951

Rank	Fashion articles/pages (1)	(1)	Personalities articles/pages (2)	(3)	Arts articles/pages (3)	(4)	Travel articles/pages (4)	(2)	Entertainment articles/pages (4)	(6)	Decor articles/pages (5)	(5)	Other articles/pages (6)	(8)	New Products articles/pages (7)	(9)
February	7	14.5	5	11	1	.25	3	11.5	6	9	3	14	2	2	1	1
March	6	16.5	6	7	5	20.75	5	13	6	11	5	10	2	3	1	1.5
April	1	17	7	15	4	5.5	7	25.5	3	2.5	2	5.75	3	4	1	1
May	9	17	7	14.5	3	6.5	2	11	4	6	4	7.75	3	11.25	2	2.5
June	4	13	5	16	9	22.5	2	8	2	1.5	4	10	2	3.5	1	2
July	3	9	9	19.25	1	1	1	5.5	3	6.5	3	6	2	3	1	1
August	9	21	2	8.5	3	6	2	3	3	5	2	6	2	2.5	2	3
September	9	23	3	16.25	1	14	1	10			1	8	2	2.5	1	2
October	10	20	2	2	4	6	2	8	3	15	4	9	2	2.5	1	3
November	7	18.75	4	6.5	3	5	2	13.25	2	2.25	4	6	2	3	1	5
December	7	16	4	9.5	7	16	4	8.5	3	14.5	3	5.5	3	5	7	18.5
January	10	20.4	2	5.5	5	9.5	5	21.5	1	2			3	2.5	2	2
Totals	82	206.15	56	131	46	113	36	138.75	36	80.25	35	88	28	44.75	21	42.5
Total Issues	12		12		12		12		11		11		12		12	

Rank	Social Trends articles/pages (10)	(10)	Health/Beauty articles/pages (8)	(13)	Lifestyle articles/pages (9)	(7)	Politics articles/pages (12)	(14)	Food articles/pages (13)	(13)	Humor articles/pages (11)	(12)	Literature articles/pages (10)	(11)
February	1	5			1	15	1	2	1	3	1	2	3	9
March	1	3	1	1.5			1	2	1	3			1	2.5
April					3	6.5	1	2	1	2.5	1	2	1	2.5
May	1	3.5	4	3.5	1	2			1	2			2	8
June	1	2	1	1	1	14							1	3
July	2	8.75			1	2.25	1	1	1	10.56	3	5	1	4
August	1	2	1	2	1	2					1	10.56		
September	1	2.5	2	3	2	6.5					1	2.5		
October	1	3	2	3			2	2.75			2	4.5		
November	1	3	2	3	1	3	2	5.75	1	4	3	6.25	1	.75
December	1	1.5	3	5.75	3	6	1	2	1	2			1	3.5
January	2	5.25	1	2.8	1	2	1	1	1	1			2	5.5
Totals	13	39.5	17	25.55	15	59.25	10	18.5	8	28.06	12	32.81	13	38.5
Total Issues	11		9		9		8		8		7		9	

49 articles were identified as fitting into two or more categories. These articles were placed into the category which provided the best fit by primary focus.

TABLE 4
Latent Advertising Mix in Flair
February 1950-January 1951

Rank	Fashion ads/pages		Beauty ads/pages		Decor ads/pages		Food ads/pages		Kitchen/House ads/pages		Entertainment ads/pages		Travel ads/pages		Jewelry ads/pages	
	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(6)	(4)	(3)	(5)	(8)	(6)	(10)	(7)	(7)	(8)	(5)
February	18	11	10	8 5/16	4	1 5/16	4	7/16	5	1 3/16	2	1 1/16	5	1 7/8	2	1 1/16
March	5	3 1/4	1	1/8	3	3/8	3	1 3/16	2	1/8	2	1 1/16	2	1 1/8		
April	9	4 9/16	8	5 13/16	3	1 5/16	4	3/8	4	7/16	2	1/8	3	1 5/8	3	1 1/8
May	3	1 5/8	2	2	8	1 11/16	6	2	4	3/4	1	1/8	1	1/8	2	1 1/8
June	10	3 11/16	8	1 7/8	5	5/16	5	1 1/2	5	3/4	3	1/4	4	9/16	2	3/16
July	1	1/16	2	2	4	5/16	4	1/2	4	1/4	2	3/16	3	5/16		
August	7	2 11/16	3	3/8	2	1/8	2	1 1/8					1	1/8		
September	17	14 1/2	3	2 1/8	5	1 5/16	2	1/4	3	1/4			2	1/4	1	1/16
October	17	9 1/8	11	5 5/8	11	11/16	6	1 7/16	3	9/16	3	1/4			2	1 1/16
November	11	5 3/8	11	2 15/16	11	3/4	13	2	11	7/8	9	11/16	2	1/4	4	1 9/16
December	10	1 3/4	8	5 13/16	11	15/16	7	1 9/16	5	3/8	5	1/2	1	1/8	9	3 1/8
January	21	18 7/8	2	3/8	2	1/8	1	1					2	1 1/8		
Totals	129	76 1/2	69	37 3/8	69	9 1/4	57	13 3/8	46	5 9/16	29	4 1/4	26	7 1/2	25	9 5/16
Total Issues	12		12		12		12		10		9		11		8	

Rank	Other ads/pages		Autos/Supplies ads/pages		Literature ads/pages	
	(9)	(9)	(10)	(4)	(11)	(11)
February	1	1	2	2		
March	1	1	1	1	1	1/2
April	1	1/4	2	2	1	1/2
May	2	5/16	1	1	1	1/2
June	1	1/4			1	1/2
July	1	1	1	1/16		
August	1	1/8	1	4	1	1/2
September	1	1/8	1	1/16		
October	1	1/4				
November	3	3/16			1	1/2
December	2	1/8			1	1/2
January	1	1/4	2	1/2		
Totals	16	4 7/8	11	10 5/8	7	3 1/2
Total Issues	12		8		7	

TABLE 5
Manifest Advertising Mix in Flair
February 1950-January 1951

	Product Category													
	Literature (5)literature		Fashion (1)fashion (2)beauty (7)jewelry		Humor		Decoration (6)decor		Travel (4)autos/supplies (8)travel		Entertainment (3)food (9)kitchen/house (11)entertainment		Other (10)other	
	ads/pages		ads/pages		ads/pages		ads/pages		ads/pages		ads/pages		ads/pages	
Rank	(6)	(6)	(1)	(1)	(7)	(7)	(3)	(4)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(5)	(5)
February			30	20 3/8			4	1 5/16	7	3 7/8	11	2 11/16	1	1
March	1	1/2	6	3 3/8			3	3/8	3	2 1/8	7	2 3/8	1	1
April	1	1/2	20	11 1/2			3	1 5/16	5	3 5/8	10	15/16	1	1/4
May	1	1/2	7	4 3/4			8	1 11/16	2	1 1/8	11	2 7/8	2	5/16
June	1	1/2	20	5 3/4			5	5/16	4	9/16	13	2 1/2	1	1/4
July			3	2 1/16			4	5/16	4	3/8	10	15/16	1	1
August	1	1/2	10	3 1/16			2	1/8	2	4 1/8	2	1 1/8	1	1/8
September			21	16 11/16			5	1 5/16	3	5/16	5	1/2	1	1/8
October			30	15 13/16			11	11/16			12	2 1/4	1	1/4
November	1	1/2	26	9 7/8			11	3/4	2	1/4	33	3 9/16	3	3/16
December	1	1/2	27	10 11/16			11	15/16	1	1/8	17	2 7/16	2	1/8
January			23	19 1/4			2	1/8	4	1 5/8	1	1	1	1/4
Totals	7	3 1/2	223	123 3/16	0	0	69	9 1/4	37	18 1/8	132	23 3/16	16	4 7/8
Total Issues	7		12		0		12		11		12		12	

TABLE 6
Editorial/Advertising Break in Flair
February 1950-January 1951

Date of Issue	Editorial Pages	Advertising Pages	Total Pages	Editorial/Advertising Ratio Ed/Ad
February	99.25	31.25	130.5	76 : 24
March	94.75	10.75	105.5	89.8 : 10.2
April	91.75	18.75	110.5	83 : 17
May	95.5	11.5	107	89.25 : 10.75
June	96.5	10.5	107	90.2 : 9.8
July	82.8	5	87.8	94.3 : 5.7
August	71.72	9.875	81.44	88 : 12
September	80.25	19	99.25	80.85 : 19.15
October	78.75	19	97.75	80.55 : 19.45
November	85.5	15.25	100.75	84.86 : 15.14
December	114	15.31	129.31	88.16 : 11.84
January	80.95	22.5	103.45	78.25 : 21.75
Totals	1071.57*	188.68*	1260.25*	85.03 : 14.97*

*Page totals are uneven due to the large numbers of odd-size foldouts, inserts and booklets.

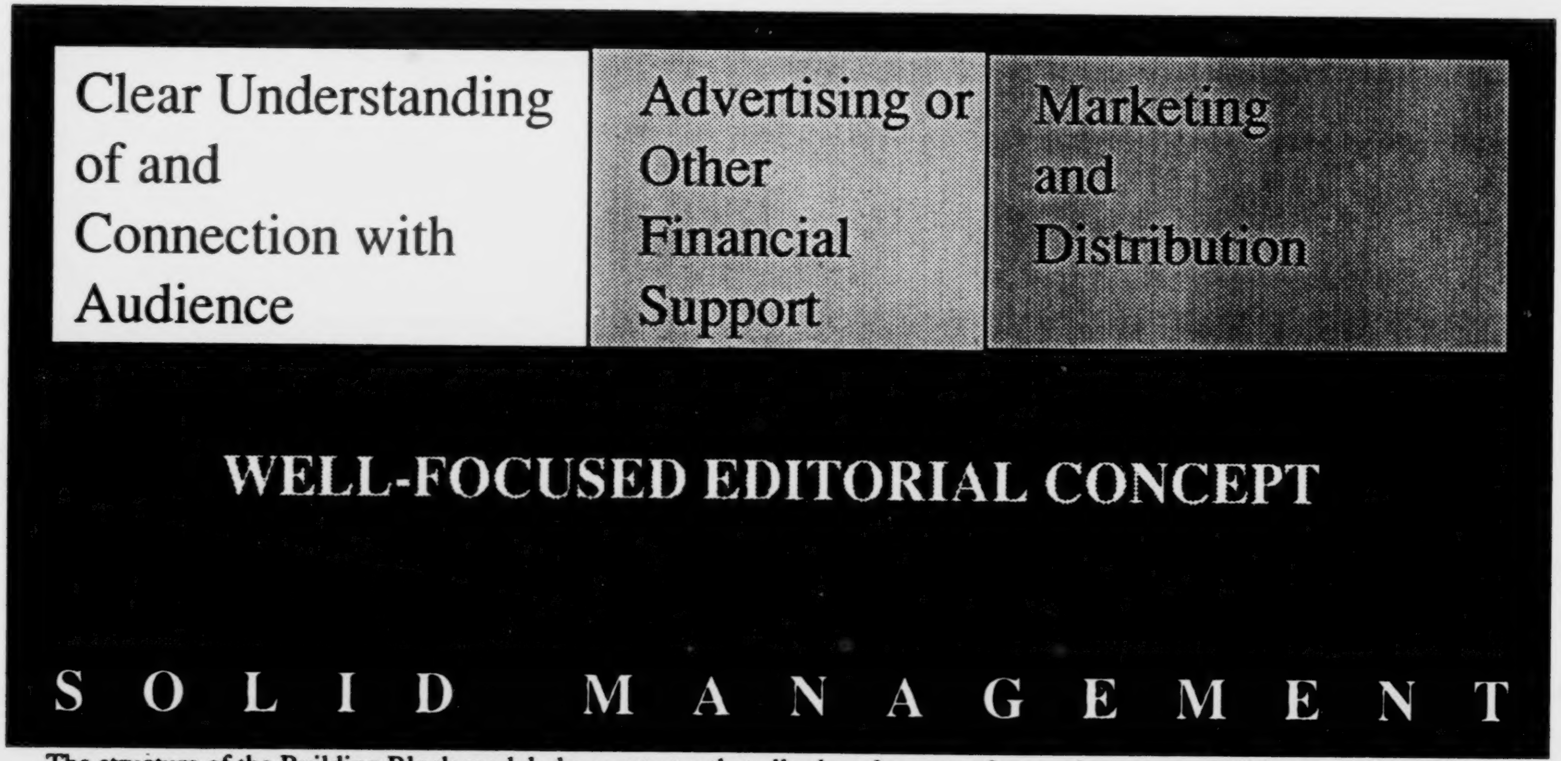
TABLE 7
Departments in Flair Magazine
February 1950-January 1951

Department Title	F	M	A	M	Jn	Jl	A	S	O	N	D	Ja	Total # Issues
1a) With Flair This Month	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	12
1b) Flair Finds	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	12
1c) Flair Personified	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	12
2) It's About Time	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	11
3) Flair Source Information		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	10
4) Top Billing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X		8
5) Food	X	X	X	X		X							5
6a) Travel Brief	X	X		X							X		4
6b) Mail From Flair Correspondents									X	X	X	X	4
7) Come "monthname" (changed each month, for the month of issue)	X	X	X										3
8a) Flair Foresees	X												1
8b) Message From the Editor												X	1
Total Departments/Issue	9	9	7	7	6	7	6	5	6	6	8	7	12

Abbreviations: F M A M Jn Jl A S O N D Ja = February - January

6a: In other issues listed under "Travel" on the Table of Contents, rather than as a department.
6b: Letters written as articles from Flair journalists in different parts of the world.

Table 8: Building Block Model



Clear Understanding of and Connection with Audience

Advertising or Other Financial Support

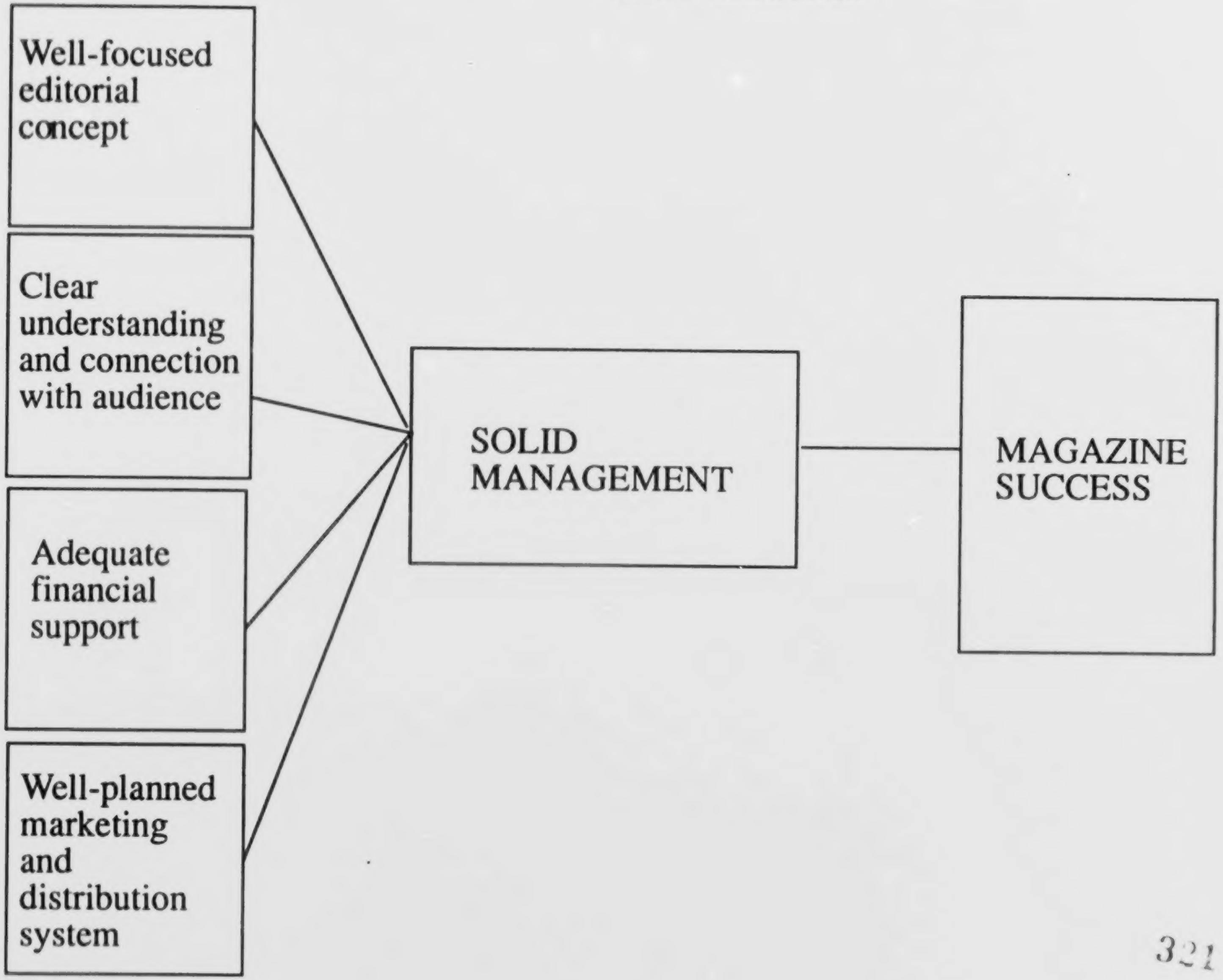
Marketing and Distribution

WELL-FOCUSED EDITORIAL CONCEPT

SOLID MANAGEMENT

The structure of the Building Block model demonstrates that all other elements of magazine success build on one foundation: a well-focused editorial concept. All decsions are made against the backdrop of solid management

Table 9: Causal Model


Well-focused editorial concept
Clear understanding and connection with audience
Adequate financial support
Well-planned marketing and distribution system
SOLID MANAGEMENT
MAGAZINE SUCCESS

CHILD CARE FOR ROSIE THE RIVETER AND THE UNITED NATIONS: IMAGES OF INNNOVATION AND VISIONS FOR THE FUTURE IN POPULAR MAGAZINES 1941-1949

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ABSTRACT

CHILD CARE FOR ROSIE THE RIVETER AND THE UNITED NATIONS: IMAGES OF INNOVATIONS AND VISIONS FOR THE FUTURE IN POPULAR MAGAZINES 1941-1949

The images of Rosie the Riveter with a backpack and the United Nations Nursery School in the 1940s captured the importance of child care to a vision of the future. This study compares the wartime and postwar images of child care in popular magazine articles using custodial and educational care categories. The wartime legacy of child care images included the language and agenda of child care concerns. The postwar images reflected the cooperation theme of the war, but the focus of the society had changed from an external threat to an internal emphasis on local self-reliance.

CHILD CARE FOR ROSIE THE RIVETER AND THE UNITED NATIONS: IMAGES OF INNOVATIONS AND VISIONS FOR THE FUTURE IN POPULAR MAGAZINES 1941-1949

Today's image of child day care had its origins in World War II with the vision of Rosie the Riveter with a child in a backpack (See Figure 1). When the war was over, the United Nations went to work on a new world order and an international nursery school for the UN members was a dominant child care image in popular magazines. In the 1940s, child care met needs on two levels. First child care met the pragmatic needs of working parents. Second, child care was symbolic of a vision of the future that was both democratic and egalitarian.

This study will show that there is a legacy of child care images from 1940s popular magazines. For an innovation to be considered, it must be communicated through time to an audience (Rogers and Shoemaker). The innovation of child "day care" and its communication in popular magazines during the 1940s to the public in the United States are the key elements of an investigation of the diffusion of the idea of child care. Categories from image of child care research are used here. Some popular magazine articles encourage consideration of child care by simply informing the reader while others give advice about the specifics of the child care dilemma (Carlson and Crase). Some popular magazine articles portray child care as a safe place for children, while others characterize it as an educational experience (Steinfels). In her history of child care, Margaret O'Brien Steinfels concludes that for the idea to be accepted, "Day care must be more than custodial; it must be developmental and educational" (248).

This study will compare the wartime image of child care to the postwar image. World War II was a time of debate over child care dominated by the need for working mothers in the workforce. That debate did not end with the war, but it did change. The child care debate during the war was dominated by concerns for the general welfare, but in the postwar period there was no longer an external threat or fear. The wartime sense of working together and cooperating can be seen in much of the postwar popular child care literature. But as the 1950s approached, the cooperation gave way to a self-reliance, in part, due to the end of federal funding of child care.

World War II provides us with words to describe child care and ways to talk about it. Terms we use today such as "day care" and "child care center" became common during World War II. "Child-care center" is described in one Parents' Magazine article as "the wartime name for all-day nursery school" (Danziger 20). It is interesting to note that the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature indicators changed from day nurseries to day care during the war. This study will consider the images of child care in all magazine articles indexed under day nursery, day care, and nursery school in the Reader's Guide from December 1941 to December 1949.

Although child care itself was not new, the way it would be used during the war emergency was new. There had been extensive child care for poor working mothers during the pre-war period, but the war situation "only intensified and enlarged the need to dimensions sufficient to require official action" (Taba 197). Now middle class women who volunteered as well as women who had to work while their husbands were overseas needed child care.

HISTORICAL SETTING AND CONTEXT

For a society that had believed the best place for a child is in his or her own home (Mackenzie, "Home" 22), child care required a second look. One of three Business Week articles during 1943-194, described how much the lack of child care was costing the war industry. The West Coast Aircraft War Production Council was quoted:

> One child care center enabling 40 mothers to work full shifts adds up to 8,000 man-hours a month; in the ten weeks, equal to one four-engine bomber.
>
> Lack of 25 child-care centers can cost ten bombers a month ("Women Drop Out" 88).

The business community saw the need for women to work fulltime.

The emergency need for child care both altered existing institutions and led to new innovations. Depending on their locations, some nursery schools closed during the war because of gas and tire rationing and increased taxi fare. But most changes showed increases and many schools lowered their entrance age ("Are Nursery Schools" 24) and extended their days from six to eight hours (Mackenzie, "Wartime"). Public schools also extended their hours and gave space for the pre-schools.

Uncle Sam was described by one source as "...one of his own largest nursemaids" ("While Mothers work" 22). The federal government never had a child care bill pass during the 1940s. It wasn't until 1943 that the administration allowed Lanham Act funds, used to construct wartime facilities, to be used for day care centers (Chafe 166). The child care provisions went through the Lanham Community Facilities Act. Alternative legislation, the Thomas Bill, was considered in 1943 but it did not pass the Congress (Close, "Day Care" 197). The first cooperative nursery school did not receive an official rating from the office of civilian defense as a war project until 1943 (Ross 32).

It seems that the Thomas bill combined with the availability of Lanham Act funds supported a peaking of child care articles in 1943 with 42% of the articles for the war period. The number declined by half in 1944 to 22% and in 1945 the number declined even further to 15%. This finding supports other research that has found peak years for child care articles to correlate with the political history of child care in the United States (Perry-Sheldon and Fairchild).

As will be seen in the next sections, the themes of the child care articles reflect the hopes and fears of the dilemma of child care in the 1940s. The discussion of democratic images, Yankee ingenuity, inadequate care, public funding, local cooperation, mother's care, the UN international nursery school and egalitarian models in the popular magazines have provided an agenda of issues since the 1940s.

DEMOCRATIC IMAGES

Democratic images were the antidote for the fears of war and its consequences. Before the war, one researcher found that images of child rearing could be democratic or not.

Strathman noted a parallel between war fears before World War II and views of child rearing in some popular magazines: "War fears were already evident in 1938, even in Parents' Magazine, and family structure and child rearing habits were already being implicated as breeding grounds for either democratic or fascistic tendencies" (25). Similarly, the move toward cooperative child care among mothers during the war was described as "democratic": "The play groups are conducted in such a democratic way that each mother has a chance to make her contributions, and feels herself of real value because her ideas are accepted and tried" (Taylor 323). For many, the values of good child care were a microcosm for the democratic values that were being defended during the war.

The dilemma of being mother and worker crossed class and socio-economic lines during the emergency of World War II. The pre-war image of child care had been as a service for the well to do and the very poor. There was not necessarily more child care during World War II than during the depression that preceded it. In fact, Business Week reported that there were fewer nurseries operating in 1943 than the Works Progress Administration had operating during the peacetime pre-war period. But the war image of child care differed in that child care was seen was a service for everyone regardless of background: "here in the nursery all class distinctions disappear" (Stewart 39).

YANKEE INGENUITY

By 1943, part-time child care could not meet all the war needs. Women no longer were encouraged to stay home (Close, "Day Care" 194). Many realized that to win the war, the women must be in the work force fulltime. It was acknowledged that mothers could not work and care for children at the same time. More important was the admission that the mother's peace of mind was important to her productivity on the job. "It is not fair, it is not wise from the standpoint of production to ask women to work in war industries and not give them peace of mind about their children" (Benedict 11).

One of the things that gave mothers peace of mind was the quality of teachers and caregivers, who were lauded in many articles. In one case, caregivers even were depicted as goddesses "trained to know what makes children tick" (Barnard 107). One 23-year-old caregiver even was quoted as saying she could have prevented World War II: "You know,...sometimes I think if I'd had Hitler in nursery school at the age of two, I could have done a job on him. I mean, you know, there wouldn't have been any war and all that sort of thing" (107-108). The power of education for the very young was seen by this caregiver as strong enough to have changed history.

Uncle Sam funded some day care, but entrepreneurs and corporations also made contributions to innovative child care. At the Los Angeles Manor Apartments, the mother of a soldier and a single parent herself decided to convert one of the floors of an apartment building into a child care center. She rented only to working parents with children (Pope 24).

Perhaps the best known corporate child care of the period is the Kaiser effort with two child-care centers next to plant sites in Portland, Oregon. While Kaiser is given the credit, it is the U.S. Maritime Commission that supplied $750,000, allowing Kaiser to bypass the federal government's red tape under the Lanham Act. But Kaiser did do the design and construction without government direction. ("Kaiser's Children" 40). It is interesting to note that of the five articles written exclusively about Kaiser, two were written by those involved in the project (Stolz; Lowenberg) and the architectural plans appeared in a third ("Designed for 24-hour care").

Kaiser's primary purpose was making a profit and that meant the "stabilization of the woman shipyard worker" (Lowenberg 77). To accomplish this end, the centers provided 24-hour and holiday care, a children's infirmary and "home-service food." While the first two may be seen in child care needs today, the "home-service food" may have been the predecessor of fast-service food and McDonald's. Nutritionist Miriam E. Lowenberg described how a mother could pick up a main dish and dessert, food that takes a while to prepare, for her whole family when she picked up her child after work (76).

INADEQUATE CHILD CARE

Although most of the popular magazine articles were positive about child care, fears of inadequate care were fueled by a few articles. War imagery was used to describe the negative effects of no care and bad care. "Long range guns which can shoot twenty years into the future are now firing on the United States in a war potentially as destructive as that being fought around the world today" (Allen, Davis and Olivier 20). In an expose, the Saturday Evening Post used the phrase "eight-hour orphans" (Allen, Davis and Olivier; Pope) for children whose parents worked all day. For the conservative Post, this phrase had a negative connotation. The children were sometimes referred to as daytime orphans ("While Mothers Work" 22).

Rather than leave children in the care of strangers, some parents provided no care for children while they worked: "Such a situation is unthinkable in a democratic society.... This nation cannot allow its children to bear the cost of war" (Benedict 11). Articles for the feminist publication Independent Woman cited above depicted the child care dilemma as a society problem, but other more conservative publications pointed to the neglect of working parents. In the Saturday Evening Post expose mothers who neglected their children were castigated. Several incidents were described in which children were neglected while mothers were working. In one incident, nine children and four dogs were chained while their parents worked all day. In another situation, four children slept in the care parked near the window of their mother's job during the graveyard shift (Allen, Davis and Olivier 21). Though very few child care articles were negative, the expose seemed to be aimed at reenforcing the fears of many mothers and reenforcing the prejudices of those who opposed mothers working outside the home.

By 1945, it was clear that not all criticism of child care was well-founded. Early criticism of child care by communities before it even was established "...disappeared almost entirely as soon as the preliminary problems of getting the centers organized and properly equipped was accomplished" (Kellogg 9).

PUBLIC FUNDING DEBATE IN POSTWAR ERA

Child care did not just disappear with the return of the troops. While the postwar images of child care were not as dramatic as the war images, people seemed reluctant to give up a vision of public support for care and education of young children as the hope for the future. The Lanham Act had cost over 44 million in federal dollars up to August 1945. The U. S. Office of Education reported, "...there has been no previous time when so much popular attention and cooperative effort have centered upon the education of young children as occurred during World War II" (Davis 18).

When the war ended in August 1945, federal funding was scheduled to end at the end of October -- but not without a fight. "Mothers countered with a nationwide howl. In Chicago 2000 irate women formed a city organization and contended that 'the war is not over for us'" ("Nursery Pump Priming" 95). Indeed the war did not end abruptly. Mothers were still building ships on the West Coast and "Absent servicemen's wives announced they had to work..." ("Nursery Pump Priming" 95). Congress moved the deadline to March 1, 1946.

A description in Newsweek revealed a bias against the federal funding and perhaps against working mothers. "The great nursery deadline, shutting off the golden faucet for the country's last 1600 Federally sponsored child-care centers, arrived March 1 under a cloud of stormy protests from working mothers" ("Nursery Pump Priming" 95). But others such as Parents' Magazine wrote editorials calling on parents to organize locally to extend day care programs in view of the end of federal funding March 1 (Owen 20).

Despite the protests, federal funding did end in March 1946. But much of the child care continued. A study by the Federal Works Agency showed that four months after the withdrawal of federal funds, 959 centers were in operation in 262 communities (Langdon 30). Working mothers and postwar family adjustments were cited as proof of need for child care.

In the absence of federal funds, the question became, should public funding be used for child care at all? Another question dealt with the privilege that some saw working mothers getting from publicly funded child care. If there was to be child care for some, there should be child care for all, some argued ("Postwar Planning" 11).

One solution to the equity problem was to extend the public school system to include younger children. Two terms were used to describe such education: kindergarten and nursery school. From the professional training point of view, both kindergarten and nursery school teachers were being trained for the primary level ages 2 to 8 years old (Davis 42). From the point of view of school boards facing the funding of this additional education, however, extension of education of kindergartens was favored but nursery schools for younger children was not (Davis 30). A legacy of the World War II federal funding of child care was the adoption of public kindergartens in the postwar era.

CO-OPERATION

The image of nursery schools in the postwar period was predominantly one of cooperation between parents and school. "'the nursery is not meant to be a substitute for home; it is a supplement to the home'" (Frank 22). Mayfarth goes one step further, "A nursery school is not a nursery school unless it is truly an extension of the home" (273). The extension of the home is seen in the parents' participation in the program. "At its best, a nursery school should be a co-operative project which engenders parent interest in and a sense of responsibility for, the development of children" (York 203).

Not only is there parent participation in nursery schools, there is also parent education. "...a good nursery school is one that not only makes democracy work with its future custodians, the children, but also educates the parents." (Kone 26) Some of these programs were publicly funded, such as in Denver (Gabbard 22).

Parent education was also an important component of cooperative nursery schools. Cooperative nursery schools owe their beginnings to the wartime period (Mayfarth 272). The cooperative nursery school "...is one organized, financed and administered by parents, and operated under the direction of professionally trained teachers. Besides taking care of the business end mothers help out in the classroom under teacher direction" (Mackenzie, "Nursery Co-op" 36).

Parents wanted the benefits of nursery school without the costs (Wendt 123). But in addition, they learned more about children.

> The most important knowledge that I acquired was a basic understanding and appreciation of children as they really are -- not magazine covers or little adults -- but strong personalities of extreme sensitivity, who need the most tactful and sympathetic guidance in order to become gradually socialized (Poynter 105).

Images of children under the age of six also were determining the images of child care in the postwar era. The image of children was changing. "One of the twentieth century rediscoveries has been that children learn before they are six" (Mayfarth 273). For the training of early childhood educators, "The nursery school is a 'human relationships laboratory' in many colleges and universities'" (Read 634).

MOTHER'S CARE

But the image of postwar child care and nursery schools does not reflect perhaps the more lasting image we tend to have of the postwar period. One name stands out from this period above the others and is an authority till this day: Dr. Benjamin Spock. Spock's articles do not appear in the World War II popular literature on child care and nursery education, although the first edition of his famous book, Dr. Spock's Baby and Child Care, was published in 1945. His first article appeared in American Home in 1947 and was titled, "If you are a Working Mother." Spock's advice to mothers was to stay home.

> I think a mother who feels she must go to work should, if possible, postpone this until the child is at least two-and-one-half and preferably three....
>
> I will stick my neck out at the start and say flatly that I would advise any mother, who doesn't feel that it is obligatory for her to work, to stay at home and take care of her child, until he is at least six years old (73).

While the American Academy of Pediatrics was "...urging the development of nursery schools for all children, regardless of economic need" (Stanton and Snyder 587), Spock was critical of day nurseries. "...(T)he usual type of day nursery is unsatisfactory for small children -- there are not enough trained women to give each child a sense of being mothered" (Spock 74). His solution was to pay mothers pensions for staying home with their children.

> ...if the responsible citizens of our country realized the importance of keeping mothers and children together, they would see to it that adequate pensions were given to widows and to other mothers compelled to support their children. (Spock 74)

Besides Spock, other critics viewed child care as a cause of juvenile delinquency and the Pennsylvania Public Assistance Review was cited by Survey Midmonthly in 1946 as favoring withdrawal of women from the labor force.

> The alarming rise in juvenile delinquency during the war years when female employment was exceptionally high, undoubtedly is attributable in some measure to the resentment of children at the loss of the working mothers' attention and care and to the lack of the usual disciplinary influences of the normal home... ("Concerning Children" 301).

The need for child care even in the postwar situation was seen as a "regrettable necessity" second to mother's care in one Catholic World article (Holman 144). But the author was very positive about nursery schools. Catholic private education was not left out of the postwar kindergarten movement. In contrast to their World War II stand against child care, the Catholic Church sponsored nursery-kindergartens during the postwar period (Holman 140).

INTERNATIONAL NURSERY

But perhaps the single most talked about nursery school in the postwar period was the one the United Nations had set up for the children of the diplomats and representatives to the U.N. If some found a potential for cooperative activity at home, the cooperation of the world was also a concern at this time. A model of the future could be seen best in the United Nations nursery. The combination of children as our hope for the future, with a nursery school at the new United Nations was a powerful image for many child care articles during the postwar period. The nursery school showed in miniature how the international organization should work.

> The heart of the U.N. Charter is the recognition of the dignity and worth of the individual. This is the underlying principle of the International Nursery School. The children who play and learn together there are proof that, regardless of difference in race, religion, sex or language, human beings can live and work together (Richardson 130).

Ten countries were represented in the International Nursery School which some saw as a hope for peace (Cowles 143). Mrs. Lea Cowles, the director, said, "'Maybe this is a way to build from the bottom up'" ("International Kindergarten" 73). The children are referred to as "diplomats in their own right" (Richardson 130).

> Grown-ups could learn a lot from these 28 children. Who they are, what country you come from, what color your skin is -- means nothing to them. If you hit or spit or don't share your toys, they don't like you ("International Nursery School" 35).

The miniature U.N. had its problems, too. "The Russian Problem" could be seen in a "minor walkout" when it was decided that Soviet diplomats would leave school-age children at home (Iden 62).

International cooperation after the devastation of war was sought in early childhood education. In 1948, The World Organization for Early Childhood Education was founded because, "The education of young children in their homes, in nursery schools and in other places where groups of children are brought together for care and education is fundamental to the art of peaceful co-operation" (Hurtwood 322). This human relationships lab could become for parents "...a tiny working model of the future world in which they believe" ("Too Young" 64).

EGALITARIAN MODELS

It is interesting to note that in a period of racial segregation in the United States, references to racial integration were found in at least four wartime articles (Budd; Marshall; Cook; Close, "After Lanham"). "Here you see democracy in action. Children of every race and creed learn to get along well together," boasted a Women's Home Companion article in 1942 (Budd 58). Racial integration was depicted in some of the photos as well (Close, "After Lanham" 133-134).

Besides the International Nursery School sponsored by the United Nations, the school sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews in New Haven, Connecticut, is the only other place where integrated facilities are mentioned in the postwar popular literature. This school employed "a teacher of the Jewish faith, a Negro and a Protestant member of the Junior League" (Kone 26). Mention of nursery schools and training for Afro-Americans was described as being separate at this point in history. The school was not social service oriented, but aimed at the middle class "...where a project of this kind is greatly needed. It is a form of education from which youngsters and their mothers and fathers all benefit" (Kone 81-82).

While child care during the war was aimed at working mothers, some of the nursery schools were for the wealthy and the references reflected a bias against the poor.

> The idea at first was mainly to keep Tommy out of the gutter and give him something to play with while mother earned a living.... Now many of these schools have the facilities to teach children how to adjust themselves to the society in which they are born, and help them form the ideals that will shape their lives (Holman 140).

Concern for the working mothers that existed in the war emergency had disappeared.

CONCLUSIONS

With the emergency over, the postwar concern for child care is no longer shared by the society as a whole. After the war, the number of articles were fewer. The number of articles on child care are less by one third (46 during the postwar period and 60 during the war) than the number of articles on child care during World War II. Even those numbers are skewed by factors such as the large number of articles on the UN nursery school and the large number of articles in Parents' Magazine. Out of 11 General Circulation articles in the postwar period, nine were about the United Nations Nursery School. Out of 14 articles grouped in the Women and

Family category, 10 were from Parents' Magazine. The topic of early childhood education is much less visible during the postwar period.

Not only is the coverage much less, but the nature of the coverage has changed. While the coverage during the war was predominantly describing custodial care, the postwar coverage was more balanced between custodial and educational themes. During the war, the discussion of custodial care was in 75% of the General Circulation articles (See Table 1). After the war, the discussion of custodial care in General Circulation was down to 55% (See Table 2). Perhaps more dramatic was the shift in Educational journals. During the war, the custodial theme edged the educational theme with 62% (Table 1). But after the war, the educational theme dominated with 88% in educational magazines (Table 2). The only shift toward the custodial theme came in the Women and Family category that went from a perfect balance of 50-50 during the war (Table 1) to 57% custodial after the war (Table 2).

Where did all the child care go? The images in the literature still indicate that early childhood education exists, but the move was away from day nurseries and toward kindergartens and private nursery schools. The theme of cooperation was a legacy of the war but it too had moved to the local scene where the poor and working mothers were delegated to second class citizenship. The focus of the society had changed in the postwar period from an external threat to an internal focus emphasizing local self-reliance.

But we do have a child care image legacy from World War II popular literature. The language and images of child care have endured. Child care as a need and a problem for all classes of people was established then. How to do child care was documented. And, democratic advantages were noted in integrated child care facilities well before racial integration in many parts of the United States. The growth of child care in the last 20 years has been the result of different economic needs than those of World War II. But the image of Rosie the Riveter with a child strapped to her back and the image of the UN international nursery capture the dilemma of the working mother and inspire us as we look to the future.

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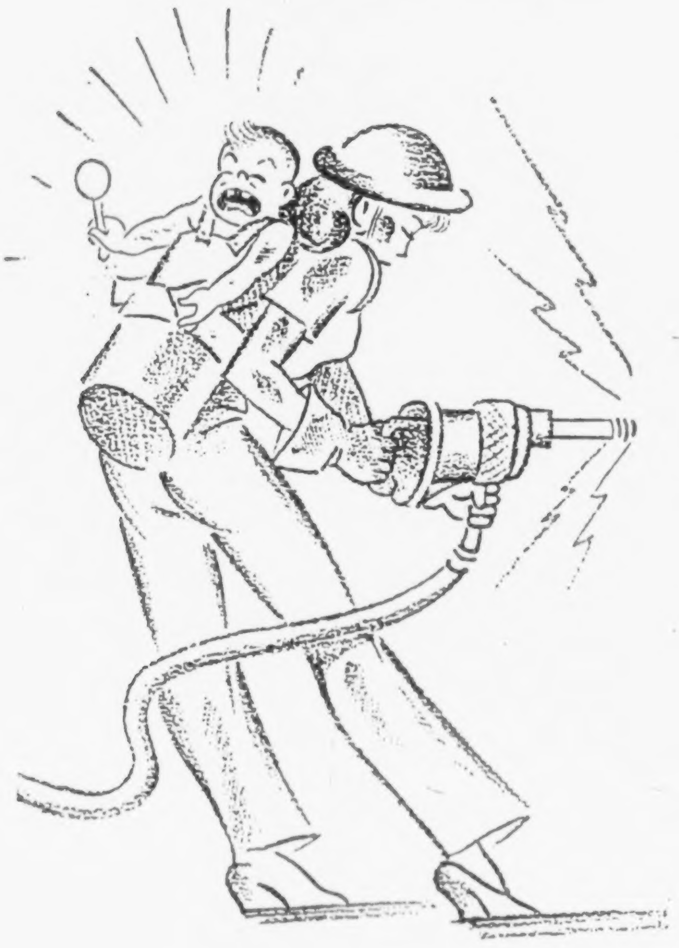

Fig. 1. Rosie the Riveter With Child in Back Pack, unsigned illustration from G. G. Wetherill, "Health Problems in Child Care Centers" Hygeia (Sept. 1943) 635.

Table 1

Wartime Child Care Articles as Custodial or Developmental/Educational

Group	n[a]	CUSTODIAL	DEV/ED
Gen.Circ[b]	20	75% (15)	25%(5)
Woman/Family[c]	14	50% (7)	50%(7)
Ed/Libr[d]	13	62% (8)	38%(4)
Org./Prof.[e]	13	77% (10)	13%(3)

[a] n= number of articles as indexed in *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*.

[b] The general circulation category, included two newspaper magazines (*Christian Science Monitor Magazine* and the *New York Times Magazine*); *Newsweek*, and three now defunct periodicals -- *Colliers*, *Saturday Evening Post* and *Survey Midmonthly*.

[c] The women and family category included 14 articles in five journals: *American Home*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Independent Woman*, *Parents' Magazine*, and *Women's Home Companion*.

[d] The education and library category included 13 articles in four journals: *Education for Victory*, *Elementary School Journal*, *Library Journal*, *School Arts*.

[e] The organization and profession category included 13 articles in seven journals: *Architectural Record*, *Business Week*, *Catholic World*, *Hygeia*, *Journal of Home Economics*, *Recreation*, and *Rotarian*.

Table 2

Postwar Child Care Articles as Custodial or Developmental/ Educational

Group	n[a]	CUSTODIAL	DEV/ED
Gen. Circ.	11	55% (6)	45% (5)
Woman/Family	14	57% (8)	43% (6)
Ed/Libr	9	11% (1)	89% (8)
Org./Prof.	11	27% (3)	73% (8)

[a] n = number of articles indexed in *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature.*

[b] The general circulation category included 11 articles in 8 periodicals: *Contemporary Review*, *Fortnightly Review*, *New York Times Magazine*, *Newsweek*, *Survey Midmonthly*, *Survey Graphic*, *Time* and *U.S. News and World Report*.

[c] The woman and family category had 14 articles in four magazines: *American Home*, *Better Homes and Garden*, *House and Garden*, *Parents*.

[d] The educational and library category had 9 articles in five magazines: *Elementary School Journal*, *NEA Journal*, *School Arts*, *School Life*, *U.S.O.E. Bulletin*.

[e] The organization and profession category included 11 articles in seven journals: *Architectural Record*, *Catholic World*, *Hygeia*, *Journal of Home Economics*, *Monthly Labor Review*, *Rotarian*.

ABSTRACT

Worcester Magazine: A Scrappy Fighter

Isaiah Thomas is well known for his Massachusetts Spy newspaper with its divided snake and slogan, "Join or Die!" Much less is known about his newspaper when it became a magazine to evade a tax on newspaper advertising. This analysis reveals an abundance of political "intelligence" that presented much of the debate from 1786-1788 on the proposed Constitution as well as a bill of rights. Both John Hancock and George Washington spoke through its pages, and the magazine provided some of the livelier commentary of its day. Yet, it also provided some early literary treasures in serial form. The magazine format prevailed until the newspaper tax died, when it changed from octavo to folio again.

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Worcester Magazine: A Scrappy Fighter

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Worcester Magazine: A Scrappy Fighter

Introduction

The famous patriot printer Isaiah Thomas is well known as the founder of *The Massachusetts Spy* newspaper, shown in nearly all journalism history books with its divided snake and slogan that warned colonists "Join or Die!" in the fight for independence.

Much less is known of the same Isaiah Thomas who turned a newspaper into a magazine and then back again in a defiant action that made an extraordinary statement in support of a free press.

Journalism history books briefly mention Thomas and his newspaper-turned-magazine. But his actions and the magazine's content merit a closer look on the bicentennial of the Bill of Rights.

Why did Thomas turn his revered Spy newspaper into *Worcester Magazine*? The change was his way of saying "no" to a new tax on newspaper advertising imposed by Massachusetts to help pay its war debts.

In large type on March 30, 1786, Thomas announced the close of the newspaper, noting its services to the commonwealth before, during and after the Revolution and denouncing the tax as an attack on all newspapers. He wrote:

"The only reward for fifteen years hard duty was this inhuman attack upon its existence! and the existence of all its near Relations, the whole Family of Gazettes in this Commonwealth."[1] With this statement, Thomas changed the title of his newspaper from *Thomas' Massachusetts Spy to Worcester Magazine*, reduced the size from folio to octavo and flouted the tax for two years from April 1786, through March 1788.

What was the content of the *Worcester Magazine*? How did it compare with other magazines of the day? Did Thomas use his magazine to attack the advertising tax? And did he continue to address the issue of a free press? What did he write about the nation's first great national debate--the ratification of the Constitution and the question of a bill of rights? An examination of all issues of the *Worcester Magazine* and research into the contents and format of other magazines of that period should yield the answers to these questions.

But what events brought Thomas to the day when he would defy a state legislature, turning a newspaper into a magazine and announcing his intentions on its front pages?

Background

Isaiah Thomas literally grew into his profession, as did other printers of his day. In fact, he had to stand on a bench eighteen inches high to set his first type at the age of six. Thomas was apprenticed out by his mother after his father died, leaving the family without means of support.[2]

Thomas was self-taught, first with a dictionary and a Bible and later through the circulating library in Boston with its twelve hundred volumes in English. His formal education was limited to "not more than six weeks' schooling in all, and poor at that." [3] More than likely, he could not read the first texts he set in type.

There were early signs of Thomas' rebellious spirit. By one account, he was already interested in political agitation against taxes as a Boston apprentice. [4] When he ran away from his apprenticeship, Thomas had his first chance to put this rebellious spirit to work at the *Halifax Gazette* in Halifax, Nova Scotia. At the age of sixteen, Thomas was put in charge of the *Gazette*. One of the first lessons he learned was that he especially did not like taxes on newspapers. [5]

However, because of the British Stamp Act, the young printer was forced to use stamped paper from England. He recalled later that "To the use of this paper, the 'young New Englandman,' as he was called, was opposed; and to the stamp act, he was extremely hostile."[6]

When a paragraph appeared in the *Gazette*, saying the people of Halifax opposed the Stamp Act, the *Gazette's* owner, who had hired Thomas, was reprimanded by members of the local government twice and warned he would lose government advertising if he continued to print opposition to the tax. However, Thomas persisted and published a description of an issue of the *Pennsylvania Journal*, which had used black borders and a coffin to illustrate the death of the newspaper from a "disorder called the Stamp Act." [7]

According to Buckingham, Thomas may not have been as bold as his *History of Printing in America* indicates; however, his actions were strong enough that local authorities called Thomas' employer before them and forced him to apologize for "certain paragraphs...which gave offence to the government of the province." [8]

Thomas' opposition to the tax made him a suspect when the Halifax stamp collector was hanged in effigy and some other "seditious acts" committed. Although he was questioned by the local sheriff, no action was taken against him. However, the incident was enough to send young Thomas packing. According to Buckingham, "He (Thomas) ... deemed it prudent to leave the place."[9]

After several other jobs, Thomas ended his travels, returned to Boston at the age of twenty-one and began publishing *The Massachusetts Spy* July 17, 1770, in partnership with his former master. This partnership lasted only three months before Thomas began publishing the *Spy* on his own and enjoying success. In March 1771, Thomas enlarged the newspaper and added alongside its title: "A weekly political and commercial paper; open to all parties, but influenced by none." [10]

The *Spy* lived up to the the non-partisan slogan only briefly, running some articles by Tory as well as Whig writers, though both Tory writers and subscribers left the newspaper as the editor-printer's denouncement of the ruling government intensified.[11] Thomas, himself, wrote that he had hoped to make his newspaper open to both parties, but soon realized that "this ground could not be maintained." [12]

The writing of some of the *Spy's* contributors, many of whom used pen names, was "more rabid" in tone than that of some other patriotic newspapers.

One biographer attributed the *Spy's* more radical and daring contents to the youthful fervor of a publisher who was only twenty-six years old in 1775. Also, the *Spy's* contents appealed to classes "who would welcome direct, coarse and bombastic words rather than those of more restraint." [13]

Thomas believed in a more direct speech as opposed to the restrained literary approach and used what he termed "common" language to try to unite the American people:

> Common sense in common language is necessary to influence one class of citizens, as much as learning and elegance of composition are to produce an effect upon another. The cause of America was just, and it was only necessary to state this cause in a clear and impressive manner, to unite the American people in support.[14]

Though accounts vary slightly, Thomas twice refused to appear before the council of the colonial government of Massachusetts to answer charges of seditious libel. When Thomas refused, "the law officers did not venture a test of strength in prosecutions which would have been effective only in increasing popular resentment."[15]

Though Thomas continued to receive threats, both legal and physical, none was carried out, and the rebellious printer treated such incidents with the following sarcastic entry in his *History of Printing in America* years later:

> The printer had the further honor of being exhibited and burnt in effigy by the royalists of North Carolina, and he was threatened with having a coat of tar and feathers by a regiment of British soldiers who paraded before his house.[16]

Both the name and the slogan of the *Spy* had changed with its increasing patriotic fervor. In October, 1772, the printer added *Thomas' Boston Journal* to the *Spy* title. A motto from Addison's "Cato" had been added earlier. It read:

> Do thou, great Liberty, inspire in our souls, And make our Lives in thy possession happy, Or our Deaths glorious in thy just defense.[17]

The more well known emblem of the dragon, representing Great Britain, and the divided snake, the colonies, with the warning "Join or Die!" appeared July 7, 1774. [18]

When actual hostilities began, newspaper printers were safe only in territories held by armies whose cause they advocated. For Boston patriot-printers, such as Thomas and Benjamin Edes of *The Boston Gazette*, this meant a hurried boat trip with their printing presses ahead of approaching British troops.

Thomas suspended publication in Boston April 6, 1775, and sent his press and some of his types in a boat to Charleston April 19 and then to Worcester where he began printing the *Spy* May 3 as a weekly with the name, *The Massachusetts Spy Or American Oracle of Liberty*. On this first issue, Thomas wrote that "This is the first News Paper ever printed in Worcester." It was also the first published inland. [19]

However, wartime heightened problems for printers, including Thomas, disrupting post riders who brought mail and newspapers from other parts of the colonies. Thomas arranged for his own riders to deliver the *Spy* to four other cities and to deliver all types of "intelligence" if necessary. A scarcity of raw materials and continued disruptions in communications caused problems for printers, including Thomas. While subscriptions and advertising might pay publication costs, publishers had to earn their living from other types of printing, either religious or general.[20]

It was in this atmosphere that Thomas set out to expand his printing interests. Although the term "diversification" in its modern meaning had not appeared, Thomas' activities over the next few years could be summed up by that one word. The year after his arrival in Worcester, Thomas leased the *Spy* to two Harvard graduates, who operated it for one year, and again to another printer for one year while he worked at other enterprises, including book publishing and attempts to start other newspapers.[21]

Having failed with his print shop in Salem, Massachusetts, Thomas returned to run the *Spy* in 1781. He changed the name to *Thomas' Massachusetts Spy; or the Worcester Gazette* with the motto-"The noble Efforts of a Virtuous, Free, and United People, shall extirpate Tyranny, and establish Liberty and Peace."

When the war ended, Thomas enlarged the newspaper and included both news and other "communications," including entire histories of America and of the Revolutionary War as well as extracts from a well-known geography of the time and a series of essays titled the "Worcester Speculator," which appeared weekly. These other "communications" sounded very much like magazines of the day.[22]

While Isaiah Thomas prospered, his success was the exception and not the rule for most printers, especially those who barely managed to eke out a living in small villages. [23]

Most of the printers started out in debt because several hundred dollars was needed to set up shop. Then came the problems of paying off the debt while supporting a family and dealing with small subscription lists, which more often than not contained the names of many people who didn't pay for their newspapers. [24]

The financial hardships plus the printers' beliefs that they had served the country well in the fight for independence probably accounted for much of their resentment over Massachusetts' stamp tax.

The act placed a two-thirds penny tax on newspapers and a penny on almanacs, which had to be stamped. While there was no evidence that the measure was an attempt to suppress newspapers, the name "stamp act" sounded too much like the hated tax imposed by the British twenty years earlier.[25] As a result of a public outcry, the Massachusetts legislature, which had adopted the act in 1785, repealed it the next year only to substitute a tax on newspaper advertising.

However, Massachusetts printers hated the tax on advertising more than the stamp tax because it affected their income directly.[26] Thomas probably summed up the feelings of his fellow printers on the advertising tax in the following passage:

> The tax on News-paper Advertisements has a direct tendency not only to restrain, but to destroy those necessary vehicles of public information, by taking away their only support of News-papers in this coun-this Country, where News-papers are at so low a price; if therefore the Publication of News-papers is not by Law prohibited, yet if a law is made which takes away the means of printing and circulating News-papers it amounts to the same thing, and is of course an unconstitutional restraint on the Liberty of the Press.[27]

A Newspaper Becomes a Magazine

As much as Thomas hated the first stamp tax under the British, he was even more resentful of the one being imposed by the government he believed his newspaper had helped to form. And he was no happier when the legislature replaced it with a tax on newspaper advertising.

For the printer who had fought what he considered to be unjust taxation since he was sixteen, his decision was simple. His newspaper would become a magazine.

On March 30, 1786, the *Spy* announced in large type that the newspaper "which it is acknowledged has been of very essential service to the cause of the United States, and to this Commonwealth in particular, before, at, and since the late Revolution" had been dangerously "wounded." Throughout the article, Thomas talked about a possible "cure" and that a remedy for the wound could come only from those who had inflicted it, meaning, of course, the legislature.[28]

Even more impassioned was Thomas' announcement that his newspaper was being replaced with the *Worcester Magazine* in the first issue of that publication April 3, 1786. Thomas wrote an open letter to his subscribers in which he reminded them that the *Spy* had helped bring about the freedom they now enjoyed, that he, as publisher, had turned down offers from the colonial government that would have meant personal financial gain in return for his support of the British and that he had supported independence at no small amount of personal peril.[29]

With that, Thomas announced his intentions to stop publication of the *Spy* and begin a "new" publication, *Worcester Magazine.*

What did Thomas have to do to make this transformation? Not much. In fact, it seems so simple, that one wonders why all of the newspapers didn't make the same switch. Historians, such as Mott, Brigham and Buckingham, agree that the differences between magazines and newspapers of that day were slight, often almost indiscernible. [30]

The trick to making the change at the *Spy* was to reduce the size from folio to octavo. Instead of folding the sheet once to make two larger leaves or four pages, the sheet of paper was folded to form eight leaves or sixteen pages of a smaller size, usually about six by nine inches.

Other changes? The contents of magazines and newspapers were similar, according to Brigham, who compiled the monumental *History and Bibliograhy of American Newspapers.* His test of a newspaper was whether the publication included "current news and advertisements." He also noted that marriage and death records were "always an important part of a newspaper's coverage." As if that were not confusing enough, he then acknowledged that some magazines also contained this same information, and finally concluded that the "publisher's intention is an important factor." [31]

A look at several magazines of the day reveals that the "publisher's intention" may have been the only indeed, true difference between periodicals and newspaper. Mott, who also found the two very similar, described early magazines as "very scrapbookish miscellanies." Magazines, he said, were supposed to be "a storehouse or treasury" and the word "repository" was likely to appear in a title. International articles abounded, and serialized installments of subjects from manners to farming, as well as collections of short stories, essays and poetry, were included. He pointed out that Thomas referred to his *Farmer's Weekly Museum* newspaper at Walpole, New Hampshire, as "a Magazine in a minor form" because of its literary content.[32]

Both newspapers and magazines of the period used a stiff rag paper, though magazine covers were usually light blue and flimsier.[33]

One notable difference, however, was the usual number of pages. Most of these early magazines had sixty-four octavo pages, though the *American Museum* sometimes contained as many as one hundred.[34]

What was Thomas' new magazine like? It had only sixteen octavo pages, compared with the larger number usually found in other magazines. It also was published weekly instead of monthly or even less often, as were most magazines of the day. However, even the frequency of publication did not distinguish *Worcester Magazine* from all others of that same era. The notable *Niles'Weekly Register* appeared just as often, as the name suggests, starting in 1811.

Was the content of *Worcester Magazine* different from the newspaper from which it sprang? Again, the lines were blurred. The new magazine appeared to contain primarily the same content as the old newspaper.

However, illustrations usually found in magazines were missing from the new format, except in advertisements. Nearly all magazines carried some type illustration--usually woodcuts--on title pages and on covers. Some, notably the Columbian Magazine, had already begun to use copperplate engravings. [35]

Worcester Magazine Revisited

When Isaiah Thomas promised his patrons that *Worcester Magazine* could "do nearly the same duty that was performed by the

Spy, or any of the *family of News-papers* ."[36] he seemed to be saying outright that his magazine was really a newspaper.

One thing is certain. The newspaper-turned-magazine read very much like the *Spy* that had provided political information to these same subscribers for about eleven years.

While magazines of that era often contained a fair share of political information, this new creation that was intended to dodge the Massachusetts tax collector probably carried more than most. At the same time, it also carried a mixture of information that would qualify it as one of the "scrapbookish miscellanies" as well as a "repository" for literary installments.[37]

In addition to the abundance of political news, which will be described in more detail later, *Worcester Magazine* contained a good supply of advertisements, anecdotes, poetry and a number of literary installments, including the *History of the Late War in America.*

Of special interest was an essay series, "The Worcester Speculator," which *American Museum* later reprinted and compared to the Spectator. Of practical interest to farmers were agricultural articles, such as "Method of Destroying Insects on Fruit Trees," sort of a forerunner of the service journalism article. In this respect, Thomas' new creation looked a lot like a magazine.

However, the magazine also contained obituaries, letters to the editor, a lost and found section and local happenings (examples: "Theft" and "Mad Dogs"). In this respect, it looked a lot like a newspaper.

And like the newspaper it had been, *Worcester Magazine* supplied an abundance of political information or "intelligence," as was the term for news. The period during which the magazine replaced the *Spy* was one filled with change--an insurrection that hurried the country toward establishment of a stronger federal government, the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia that shaped the new government and months of debate that determined whether the new nation would ratify the new federal Constitution without further amendments. It was not an uninteresting time. And the *Worcester Magazine* adequately reflected this.

To gain insight into the role *Worcester Magazine* played in these monumental developments, every issue of the magazine's two-year existence was examined from April 1786 through March 1788, when the tax on newspaper advertising died and the *Spy* newspaper came back to life.

Researchers scanned content for issues relating to the Constitution and a bill of rights, freedom of the press and unfair taxation. Those items receiving the most attention were categorized and measured in column inches. The magazine consisted of weekly editions printed in octavo, sixteen pages that were approximately nine and one half inches deep and six inches wide. Page one consisted of one wide column with inside pages printed in two columns.

With no illustrations, except in an occasional advertisement, the magazine pages looked more like a large-size book with breaks in gray type provided by an occasional rule between shorter items at the top and bottom of inside pages. The words, however, breathed life into its otherwise bleak pages..

One of the first entries of interest was an explanation of the poor health of the newspaper and an introduction of the magazine in which Thomas makes an obvious plea for voters to speak their minds about the advertising tax at the next election of representatives to the state legislature. He talks of the *Spy*'s serious "illness," which can be cured only by a change of "physicians." That section reads:

> There is indeed but one chance remaining for its life, and this depends entirely on the skill of the Physicians shortly to be elected for the ensuing year; the further attendance and services of the *old* Physicians being dispensed with by the Commander in chief on the 24th ult.

The article concludes with a promise to serve the readers "until your old servant the *Spy* shall *really expire*, or be able once more to rear its numerous stately columns for your service...."38

A week later, Thomas wrote a strong article in defense of freedom of the press and a scathing attack on the newspaper tax. He also reminded readers of the free press clause in the Massachusetts constitution and asked how a newspaper tax can be in harmony with those principles, adding that the tax was a serious infringement of "our dear bought Rights and Privileges." The article also contained this warning:

> True it is that the Freedom of the Press is not at present attacked with the greatest violence, but that Power that can lay a tax of one farthing may enlarge that farthing to a pound. The consequences in this view are obvious.
>
> The tax on News-paper advertisements has a direct tendency not only to refrain, but to destroy those necessary vehicles of publick information , by taking away their only support.39

Articles about the advertising tax, a proposed stamp act in France, taxation in general and the likelihood of increased taxes to pay for the new federal government occupied the single largest amount of space of any political issue in the magazine for a total of 234 column inches. Second and third in line were articles favorable to the ratification of the new federal Constitution for 228 column inches and discussion of the Massachusetts state ratifying convention with 216 inches. Fourth were articles against ratification totaling 186.5 inches with proceedings of the government ranking fifth with 137 column inches. Other categories noted and measured because of their connection with the ratification process are letters about the proposed Constitution, 44.5 inches; support for a bill of rights, 28 inches; and other states' constitutional ratifying conventions, 7.5 inches.

The combined amount of space devoted to the adoption of the new plan for a federal government is impressive for a publication tucked away from the more populated areas of Boston, Philadelphia or New York.

One quote that enabled Worcester readers to see a display of statesmanship worthy of the speaker is that of Massachusetts Gov. John Hancock on the subject of a federal bill of rights. Governor Hancock spoke in favor of the document and of the need for amendments *only* after Massachusetts had ratified the federal Constitution because he said he wanted the delegates to feel free to vote as they wished. Hancock wrote:

> The Amendments proposed by the Con-convention, are intended to obtain a constitutional security of the principals to which they refer themselves, and must meet with the wishes of all the states. I feel myself assured, that they will very early become a part of the Constitution, and when they shall be added to the proposed plan, I shall consider it the most system of government, as to the objects it embraces, that has been known amongst mankind.[40]

There were other statements by leading figures of the day in the pages of the *Worcester Magazine.* Among those is this appeal from George Washington who acknowledged the proposed Constitution is not perfect but that it may be the best its framers could do for the time being:

> I am not a blind admirer, (for I saw the imperfections) of the Constitution. I aided in the birth of, before it was handed to the publick; but I am fully persuaded it is the best that can be obtained at this time;--that it is free from many of the imperfections with which it is charged, and that *it* or disunion is before us to choose from. If the first is our election when the defects of it are experienced, a constitutional door is opened for amendments, and may be adopted in peaceable manner, without tumult or disorder.[41]

In what seemed like the longest running verbatim account of a meeting of a public body, the *Worcester Magazine* carried the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts State Convention" for ten straight weeks. The accounts of the ratifying convention sometimes filled almost every page of a single issue, beginning the fourth week in January 1788 and ending with the fourth week in March 1788. During this period, Thomas devoted 86 of his total 160 pages or 54 percent of his pages to the ratifying convention in Massachusetts. At the end of this mammoth report. Thomas expressed his pride in providing this public service without editorial opinion or comment. He wrote in the concluding issue:

> His (Thomas') readers , he doubts not have received some satisfaction and entertainment, and will allow that impartiality has conspicuously marked the compiler's pen. His readers may be assured, that in this, and in every controversy that may come before the publick, he will continue religiously to maintain to the utmost of his power, the Freedom of the Press; and decent writers on any side of a question never shall have an opportunity of saying their opinions cannot be communicated to the publick through the channel of this press, which shall be ever open to all parties while conducted by I Thomas.[42]

When Massachusetts ratified the new federal Constitution by a narrow vote, its delegates apparently conducted themselves in a dignified manner, unlike those in some other states at which brawls sometimes broke out during heated debates. For this more seemly conduct, Isaiah Thomas commended the Massachusetts delegates in an article under the caption"Let Those For and Against":

> The open, manly and honourable conduct of the gentlemen who composed a minority in the great question yesterday taken in the Honorable Convention yesterday, was very different from the turbulent opposers of the Constitution in Pennsylvania.[43]

In an article in December before the Massachusetts ratification the next February, a writer urged delegates not to be blinded by the "splendour of names, which has attended the publication of this new Constitution," an obvious reference to George Washington.[44]

The article is reprinted from the *Freeman's Journal* in Philadelphia and is signed by "an officer of the late Continental Army," who raises 24 objections to the document. Of interest is the ninth objection, which questioned whether the document would protect press freedom. It is especially interesting because of the contrast with what is generally perceived as the current press-military relationship:

> The liberty of the press is not secured and the powers of Congress are fully adequate to its destruction, as they are to have the trial of *libels*, or *pretended* libels against the United States; and may, by a cursed, abominable Stamp Act (as the Bowdoin Administration has done in Massachusetts) preclude you effectually from all means of information....[45]

(Here Thomas was careful to add a footnote that the Stamp Act was not originated during the Bowdoin administration in Massachusetts.)

In what seemed like a common sense approach to airing all sides of the debate surrounding the proposed Constitution and a bill of rights, Thomas allowed space the following week for answers to those who had opposed the Constitution the previous week. The reply listed each objection and answered it, including the issue of a free press:

> The liberty of the press, in each state can only be in danger from the laws of that state, and it is every where well secured. Besides, as the new Congress can only have the defined powers given, it was needless to say any thing about liberty of the press, liberty of conscience, or any other liberty that a freeman ought never to be deprived of....Indeed in this extensive continent, and among this enlightened people, no government whatever could controul the press....This respectable power has preserved

> the press in Greatbritain, and none but a madman could ever think of controuling it in America.[46]

Conclusions

There are numerous other examples of commentaries on important questions of the day that readers of the Worcester Magazine received in their weekly publication. Whether it really was a magazine or a newspaper in disguise seems to have been unimportant, except to those who may have thought the advertising tax was a good idea.

One point seems apparent in the analysis of the *Worcester Magazine's* content. Thomas was watching the tax collectors as closely as they may have watched their sources of revenue. He printed long, detailed lists of taxes collected, prefaced with the statement that the most frequent complaint is that people "are ignorant what becomes of their money; that they pay large taxes, and never learn how they are disposed of." [47] The stories contained lists of payments made on taxes along with how that money was dispensed.

What may have been one of Thomas' personal favorites in the magazine was printed after the repeal of the newspaper tax. Thomas announced in his usual grandiose fashion that "The Printer has the happiness once more presenting to the Publick, the *Massachusetts Spy, Or the Worcester Gazette*, which at length is restored to its *Constitutional Liberty*, (thanks to our present Legislature) after a suspension of two years."[48]

This look at the life of Isaiah Thomas and the magazine with which he defied state law raises a question that goes beyond the economics of the newspaper advertising tax. If any Massachusetts printer could afford to pay an advertising tax at that time, Thomas could. True, advertising did decline as a result of the law and at least six newspapers closed.[49]

However, Thomas was busy publishing and selling books during this period. He was an entrepreneur, a businessman who learned to diversify before the term was popularized. His Worcester shop became a training ground for apprentices, among them Benjamin Russell and John Greenleaf. He loaned money to printers who founded other New England newspapers and added a book shop, a paper mill, a book bindery and a wholesale printing supplies shop to his businesses.[50]

Thomas had access to everything necessary to print almost anything, and he had experience publishing magazines, both before and after he played this dimly disguised game with the Massachusetts tax collector. Why was he so strong in his unwillingness to comply with the law? The simple answer may be that this was the nature of the man who had learned hostility toward an unfair tax at the age of sixteen and who had been defying colonial governments since that young age. He also, as his columns indicated, felt badly treated by the same government he had put himself at peril to help to establish.

At any rate, Thomas' contributions to early American printing go beyond the wealth and stature that have prompted some historians to compare his accomplishments with Benjamin Franklin. While Franklin helped found the American Philosophical Society, Thomas collected specimens of early American printing in an effort to preserve these for future generations. The result is the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester.

Was his *Worcester Magazine* really a newspaper? Yes and no. As noted earlier, the difference was so slight that it probably depended upon the publisher's stated intention. And for the two years of the advertising tax on newspapers, this defiant printer intended his publication to be a magazine.

Notes

[1] *Thomas's Massachusetts Spy: or Worcester Gazette*, March 30, 1786.

[2] Annie Russell Marble, *From 'Prentice to Patron* (New York: D. Appleton--Century Company), 1935, p. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 15

[5] Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America* (Barre, Massachusetts: Imprint Society), 1970, p. 156.

[6] *Ibid.*; see also Marble, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

[7] Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[8] Joseph T. Buckingham, *Specimens of Newspaper Literature* Vol I (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press), 1850, p. 230.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[11] Marble, *op. cit.*, p. 60; see also Buckingham, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

[12] Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

[13] Marble, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[14] Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

[15] Clyde A. Duniway, *The Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts* (New York: Burt Franklin), 1969, p. 130.

[16] Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

[17] Buckingham, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 236.

[19] Clarence S Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers 1690-1820* Vol I (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society), 1947, p. 415. See also Clarence S. Brigham, Journals and Journeymen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 1950, p. 16.

[20] Mary Ann Yodelis, "The Press in Wartime: Portable and Penurious," *Journalism History* 3 (Spring 1976), p. 10; see also George Emery Littlefield, *The Early Massachusetts Press* (New York: Burt Franklin), 1969; Donovan H. Bond and W. Reynolds McLeod, editors, *Newsletters to Newspapers: Eighteenth-Century Journalism* (Morgantown, West Virginia : West Virginia University School of Journalism), 1977.

[21] Buckingham, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

[22] John W. Moore, *Historical Notes on Printers and Printing 1420-1886* (New York: Burt Franklin), 1968, p. 241; see also Donald H. Stewart, *The Opposition Press of the Federalist Period* (Albany, New York: The State University of New York), 1969.

[23] Robert A. Rutland, *Newsmongers: Journalism in the Life of the Nation 1690-1972* (New York: The Dial Press), 1973, p. 16.

[24] Rollo G. Silver, *The American Printer 1787-1825* (Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press of Virginia), p. 65.

[25] Duniway, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[26] Carol Sue Humphrey, "That Bulwark of Our Liberties: Massachusetts Printers and the Issue of a Free Press, 1783-1788," *Journalism History* 14:1 (Spring 1987), p. 36.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[28] *Thomas's Massachusetts Spy: or Worcester Gazette*, March 30, 1786.

[29] *Worcester Magazine*, April 3, 1786.

[30] Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines 1741-1850* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press), 1966, p. 93.

[31] Brigham, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[32] Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism A History: 1690-1960* (New York: The MacMillan Company), 1968, p. 138.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, p. 35.

[36] *Worcester Magazine*, April 3, 1786.

[37] Mott, *American Journalism*, p. 138.

[38] *Worcester Magazine*, April 3, 1786, p. 14.

[39] *Worcester Magazine*, Second Week of April, 1786. For a complete discussion of the ratification process in Massachusetts, see Samuel B. Harding, *The Contest over the Ratification of the Bill of Rights* (New York: Da Capo Press), 1970; see also Robert A. Rutland, *The Birth of the Bill of Rights 1776-1791* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina), 1955, pp. 143-148.

[40] *Worcester Magazine*, Third Week of February, 1788.

[41] *Worcester Magazine*, First Week in October, 1787.

[42] Worcester Magazine, Fourth Week in March, 1788.

[43] *Worcester Magazine*, Third Week in February, 1788.

[44] *Worcester Magazine*, Fourth Week in December, 1787.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] *Worcester Magazine*, First Week of January, 1788.

[47] *Worcester Magazine*, First Week in December, 1786.

[48] *Worcester Magazine*, Fourth Week in March, 1788.

[49] Humphrey, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[50] Rutland, *Newsmongers*, pp 16-17.

Newspaper Division

EDES' BOSTON GAZETTE AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS:
TRUMPETER OF SEDITION ENDS ON A QUIETER NOTE

By

Dru Riley Evarts, Ohio Universty

and

Elinor Grusin, Memphis State University

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As the American colonies gathered their courage and forces for the Revolutionary War, the press played a key role in inspiring the people and galvanizing them into action. One newspaper in the forefront was the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*, a quarto paper known as the *Boston Gazette*. Its printer-editor-owner, Benjamin Edes, was well-known for his strong leadership. Some historians say that no newspaper was more instrumental in the pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary period.

But what became of the *Boston Gazette* during the First Great National Debate of the young United States--that centering around the formulation and ratification of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights? The researchers read this weekly paper for the five years and two months, January 1787 through February 1792 to monitor its news and commentary on the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. They concluded, as other historians have suggested, that the *Gazette* was much less a strong, persistent advocate for the Bill of Rights than it had been for either the Constitution or the Revolution. Full explanation of this finding was beyond the scope of this paper, but numerous examples of the writing about the Constitution and the First Amendment were preserved as the research went forward.

EDES' BOSTON GAZETTE AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS: TRUMPETER OF SEDITION ENDS ON A QUIETER NOTE

INTRODUCTION

"And now, my Fellow-Citizens, I bid you FAREWELL! Maintain your Virtue--Cherish your Liberties--and may The Almighty protect and defend you."[1]

The words were from patriot and printer Benjamin Edes when he wrote the final editorial in the last issue of the once-thunderous Boston Gazette. The date was September 17, 1798. The occasion was the death of a newspaper credited by some early historians as the most influential in the American colonies in pre-Revolutionary days and one that was instrumental in bringing down British rule.[2]

Despite its contribution to the cause of freedom, the newspaper lasted only 10 years after Massachusetts ratified the new federal Constitution.[3]

While much has been written about the years when Edes was the "scourge of the Tories,"[4] and the "trumpeter of sedition,"[5] there are only scattered references to the contents of the Boston Gazette in the period immediately before, during and after the ratification of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. These references are primarily general statements about the declining quality of the newspaper's contents compared with its pre-Revolutionary rhetoric. Typical is the statement that Edes still possessed a "contentious spirit" but was handicapped by the loss of the intellectuals who had been his regular contributors during the pre-Revolutionary days.[6]

One of the earliest descriptions of the Boston Gazette in its decline is that of Isaiah Thomas, who wrote, "This paper had had its day, and it now languished for want of that support it derived from the splendid talents of its former writers. . . ."[7]

Another early historian of that period acknowledged the negative effects on the newspaper of the loss of such writers as Samuel and John Adams, Josiah Quincy, James Otis, and Joseph Warren. Buckingham wrote, "Though the Gazette was occasionally enriched by powerful communications, it was not what it had been."[8] And on an even more critical note, the same writer described the Gazette's contents as "querulous complainings and bitter and vulgar personality."[9]

Although a number of examples of the newspaper's articles appear in the literature along with the more general and frequently negative comments, there is no in-depth, systematic study of the content in the period of this nation's first great debate over the ratification of the Constitution and the need for a bill of rights. Baldasty included the Gazette in a much broader study of five Boston newspapers from 1782 to 1791 and documented some content critical of the new federal government.[10]

PURPOSE OF PRESENT STUDY

In the present study, the researchers examined more closely only the Boston Gazette during the main years of the debate over the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, 1787-91, for articles and commentary concerned with these two issues and corollary subjects.

One question is the Gazette's role in the debate over the Constitution and the need for a bill of rights. Another is whether a closer look at the Gazette's content for a concentrated number of years (five plus two months) in which only limited issues are followed would render different conclusions from those of earlier researchers.

Clearly, the Boston Gazette's later content merits a closer look because of the newspaper's position of importance in pre-Revolutionary days and because it had not changed hands between that time and the time of the adoptions of the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

An examination of the contents in the nation's period of division and debate between Federalists and Antifederalists would help to fill in the details of a somewhat sketchy outline provided thus far.

Finally, another purpose of this research was to find and preserve in more readable form the words of those writing in the Constitution/Bill of Rights era. These statements and sentiments will become more valuable as time goes on, and the sources from which they were taken will be no easier to access and read.

IN THE BEGINNING

The newspaper operated by Benjamin Edes and John Gill was actually the third newspaper to carry the title of The Boston Gazette. This one was The Boston Gazette, or Country Journal. (This name had a number of changes over the years, variously dropping the comma and using "and" instead of "or" as the conjunction.) The first of these newspapers was a weekly established Decebmer 21, 1719, by J. Franklin and William Brooker. After a succession of owners and two slight name changes, the newspaper was sold to Edes and Gill on April 5, 1755, beginning a partnership that would last 20 years.[11]

In the beginning, when Edes and Gill sent out notices asking for subscribers for their new weekly newspaper, they stated that their policy was "to make our Paper free in the strictest sense--free to any Gentlemen who will favour us with their Speculations upon any Art, Science or Political Subject, provided they are wrote with Decency and Spirit."[12]

For the next 20 years, the newspaper gained both in circulation and in reputation. Its pages were filled with political literature and its writers attacked the British Stamp Act of 1765, the Boston Massacre, the colonial government in general, and its officers in particular.[13]

So unrelenting was the *Gazette* in its attacks on the colonial government in Massachusetts that the colony's lieutenant governor lamented in a letter to the governor August 12, 1770, "The misfortune is that seven-eighths of the people read none but this infamous paper, and so are never undeceived."[14]

The *Gazette*'s crusade against the British prompted Buckingham to write, "No press in the country exerted a more powerful influence over the feelings, opinions, and conduct of the people."[15]

Thomas also credited both Edes and his newspaper with an influential role in freeing the colonies. He wrote: "No publisher of a newspaper felt a greater interest in the establishing of the independence of the United States than Benjamin Edes; and no newspaper was more instrumental in bringing forward this important event than the *Boston Gazette*."[16]

Apparently, some members of the colonial government agreed with this assessment. In 1769 the governor of Massachusetts suggested the two printers might be arrested and sent to England for trial.[17]

However, the partnership of Edes and Gill ended April 17, 1775, with the Revolution they had advanced. Edes fled to Watertown with a printing press to escape British troops who "had put a price on his head," and Gill stayed in Boston where he was arrested and spent 29 days in jail. Edes continued to publish the *Gazette* from Watertown from June 5, 1775, until the British left Boston and he felt free to resume printing there November 4, 1776.[18]

Edes' career as publisher of the *Boston Gazette, and Country Journal* was still financially successful for the next several years, at least until 1780.[19] However, the depreciation of paper currency and two successive taxes in Massachusetts affected Edes as well as other printers.[20]

The first of these was a stamp tax on Massachusetts newspapers in 1785 to help repay the war debt. After a public outcry led by the newspapers, this was modified the next year as an advertising tax.

The tax on advertising had an even more drastic effect on Massachusetts newspapers. Although a survey showed that advertising dropped in all New England states from 1784 to 1788 because of economic pressures, the greatest decline occurred in Massachusetts, where the percentage of space for newspaper ads went from more than 34 percent in 1784 to slightly more than 12 percent in 1786.[21]

The advertising tax provided an opportunity for the Boston Gazette once again to display a clever piece of writing and to evade the tax at the same time. The article, under the signature of "The Printer's Friend," began by quoting Massachusetts' Bill of Rights' 16th article, which protected freedom of the press. It then noted that newspapers in other states, unlike those in Massachusetts, were full of advertisements. The article explained that printers could not advertise their own items without a penalty. Finally, the article listed all the items, along with a book and its price, as examples of items printers could not advertise without paying a penalty.[22]

Although various accounts differ slightly, a picture emerges that shows Edes and his two sons published the newspaper from 1779 and that one son left in 1784 and the other in 1794, leaving Edes alone in the business for the last four years.[23]

Circulation dwindled from its all-time high of 2,000 to 400 by the time Edes wrote his farewell editorial. He had made appeals for subscribers during his last years of publishing the Gazette, reminding readers of his newspaper's past services to the country. With no response, Edes closed his newspaper September 17, 1798, and moved his printing press to his home, where he printed shop bills.[24]

A writer who visited Edes at this time described his situation. "The venerable form of the old man, setting types with spectacles on nose, and the singular sight of a woman, beating and pulling at the press, together with the aspect of destitution, that pervaded the whole apartment, presented a scene well adapted to excite sympathy . . . ."[25]

The ultimate demise of the newspaper was no doubt tied to a number of factors, both personal and political. Subscriptions accounted for a large part of a printer's income and collections were difficult. In an editorial titled "The aged Editor of the GAZETTE to the PUBLIC," Edes wrote that "The aged Editor of the Gazette . . . requests those of his customers, who are two, three, and more years in debt to discharge their arrears, as he finds it impossible to live upon the wind, and promises equally uncertain."[2]

Newspapers came and went in rapid succession. According to Stewart, only nine of those published in 1775 were around 35 years later.[27] Despite its former influential role, the Boston Gazette, and Country Journal was not one of those.

THE FIRST GREAT NATIONAL DEBATE

The nation's first great national debate--the ratification of the Constitution and the arguments over the need for a bill of rights--was carried to the public through newspapers, including the Boston Gazette, and Country Journal.

Drafters of the new federal document had met in total secrecy, a decision made in the first days of the Constitutional Convention. Madison's journal records the rule "That nothing spoken in the House be printed, or otherwise published or communicated without leave."[28] Delegates justified the decision for the nation's first news blackout as a way of shielding themselves from public pressures.[29]

Not until after the fact did the public learn that up until the final week of the Constitutional Convention, none of the states had voted for a motion to have a committee draft a bill of rights. When such a motion was made in the final days, it failed.[30] An attempt to insert a free press clause earlier also had failed.[31]

However, within days after the September 17, 1787, adjournment, the entire Constitution, along with a letter with Washington's signature, began appearing in newspapers. The document arrived in Boston on September 25 and the Massachusetts Centinel published it the next day as an extra. Within 10 days every newspaper in the state had published it.[32]

Federalists, eager to push through the document's ratification, hurried to gain influence with key printers,[33] and even Washington wrote a letter to an aide in which he stressed his belief that the fate of the Constitution would depend largely on endorsements by newspapers.[34]

Within a few months after the Constitution was drafted, Federalist printers greatly outnumbered the Antifederalists or Republicans. Nine out of 10 of the estimated 100 newspapers supported the Federalists, according to one account,[35] and these editor-printers believed their publications played a major role in the ratification of the Constitution.[36]

Like other printers of the day, Edes was anything but a neutral observer. His and other newspapers were expected to take sides and those few who did not were severely criticized. Samuel Harrison Smith's National Intelligencer was referred to contemptuously as "Mr. Smith's National Smoothing Plane" by other editors as well as readers because it was not clearly partisan enough.[37] The partisan nature of the press grew out of the war spirit that fostered an attitude of intolerance for political enemies. Now this same attitude was applied to a domestic debate.[38]

The Gazette, though not considered the "accredited organ of the

Republican or Antifederalist party," opposed many aspects of the Constitution as well as the members of the new federal government, with the exception of George Washington. Edes and some of his correspondents "expressed their disapprobation of some of its [the Constitution's] features, in terms of great bitterness; and when it was finally adopted, the federal administration was treated with contumely and abuse."[39]

A major concern that eventually became the rallying cry of the Antifederalists was the lack of a bill of rights. Though other complaints surfaced, this one garnered the most attention and evoked some of the more impassioned commentary.

Harding reprinted a letter from a Massachusetts printer that is representative of the rhetoric of the times. A bill of rights, the man wrote, would cure "most of the evils" in the Constitution. Without these guarantees, "God have mercy on us--our liberties are lost--The vast Continent of America cannot be long subjected to a Democracy, if consolidated into one Government--you might as well attempt to rule Hell by prayer."[40]

One specific right--that of a free press--was a major issue in states where printers already felt a threat of state libel prosecutions. Other Antifederalists saw a danger of federal prosecutions for libel without a press-protection clause.[41]

Edes' paper joined in the concern for the Constitution's failure to guarantee a free press. An essay by "One of the Common People" in the Gazette asked if leaders of the federal government would have "the power to prosecute any printer for a pretended libel against the United States?" The article also wondered whether a printer could be tried for a "pretended libel" against a consul, foreign minister, or another state by a federal court.[42]

Other aspects of the Constitution Edes disliked or what his reasons were are not entirely clear from these same accounts. However, according to Sloan, Antifederalist or Republican editors placed more emphasis on securing individual rights and professed that an integral part of this was a well-informed electorate who could protect themselves from "aristocratic" Federalist principles. Federalist editors, on the other hand, "frequently declared their purpose was to promote morality, religion, peace, love of country . . . ."[43]

An article from the Gazette that is reprinted in Harding's history of the ratification contest in Massachusetts illustrates the printer's contempt for the "aristocracy." The article attempted to arouse popular distrust of the upper classes in Massachusetts by charging that they would have the common people "gulp down the gilded pill blindfolded," a reference to the ratification of the Constitution. The article, Harding concluded, was an attempt to influence the election of delegates to the state constitutional convention.[44]

A few weeks before delegates to the Massachusetts convention were to vote on ratification, a second article charged that "Large sums of money have been brought from a neighbouring State" to bribe delegates to vote for the Constitution, prompting some members to call for an investigation of the charges.[45]

Massachusetts was the first state to send along recommended amendments to the Constitution. While the recommendations did not mention freedom of conscience, speech, or press, the action opened the door for other states to do so.[46]

Soon after the newly elected Congress assembled in the spring of 1789, James Madison introduced the subject of a bill of rights. Seventeen proposed amendments eventually came out of the House of Representatives and were pared to 12 by the Senate that fall. The third and fourth were combined to include those guarantees now in the First Amendment.[47]

Of the 12 amendments sent to the states, numbers one and two received enough objections to fail. Thus, the third proposed amendment achieved a first place by default.[48] New Jersey was the first to ratify and Virginia was the last of the necessary 11 states. The process was accomplished with little recorded debate.[49]

METHODOLOGY

Even though historians recorded little debate over the Bill of Rights, an intensive reading of an outstanding Boston newspaper was undertaken to put what debate there was into perspective.

The selected newspaper, the Boston Gazette and Country Journal (hereafter called Boston Gazette or simply Gazette) was read for five years and two months--January 1787 through February 1792. This newspaper was chosen because of its reputation and the fact that the file on it over the years studied is nearly complete, with only one issue missing.

This time period was thought to be sufficient to cover news and commentary in the Gazette over the period of the formulation and adoption of the Constitution (produced during the spring and summer of 1787 and ratified by the necessary nine states in 1788) and the addition and revisions of the Bill of Rights (finally ratified by the required eleventh state in December 1791). The reading went on into early 1792 after the researchers noticed that news often appeared in the Gazette a month or two after it happened.

This schedule meant that a total of 268 issues of the Boston Gazette were planned for reading. These were used both in the original at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., and in microprint form in the

American Antiquarian Society holdings at Ohio University. The microprints had been made from the collection of *Boston Gazettes* at the Boston Public Library.

Between the two sources, the only issue of the paper totally unavailable was that of January 22, 1788. This was unfortunate in that January 22 was the second week in a four-week series of political comment; it may well have included some reaction to the new Constitution. But if neither the Boston Public Libary nor the Library of Congress has this issue, it is safe to say that probably no copies of it survived unless they are in unidentified personal collections.

Therefore, 267 issues of the *Gazette* were examined, at four pages each. This totaled 1,068 pages.

As the project progressed, it became apparent that not every inch of every issue need be read for the purpose of finding political news and commentary. For instance, much of the back page often was lent to fiction (although at least a cursory examination was needed, because occasionally a piece appropriate to this study was found there).

The news and commentary relating to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights were then recorded for the purpose of joining the various articles, letters, and commentary by subject matter over the five years and two months. Readers would thus be able to appreciate, in the original language, how Benjamin Edes and Son (at least one of his sons at a time) regarded the Constitution and Bill of Rights and whether they approached this subject with the vigor of editorializing with which historians credit Edes before the Revolution.

RESULTS

The *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* (hereafter called the *Boston*

Gazette or simply the Gazette) had as a subtitle "the Journal Foreign and Domestic." Its look was very uniform--18-pica columns, 15 inches deep, with 2-1/4-pica column breaks centered with 2-point rules.

Most body type was 8 point, although a good deal of it was 6 point, especially when an official notice or proclamation was involved. A few stories and a center-spread rendition of the Constitution as first presented were in 10-point type, but this was rare indeed. Only for the Constitution did the newspaper's steady three-column format change to two (for pages 2 and 3),[50] and only for an address of George Washington was a page (page 4) set in four columns during this time period.[51]

The paper had a very impressive logo on the front page, complete with artwork in the center--the statue of Minerva carrying a spear with a cap of liberty atop and releasing from a cage the bird of truth. The paper's motto was "A FREE PRESS IS THE MAJESTY OF THE PEOPLE." The name of the paper throughout the period read for this research was The Boston Gazette and Country Journal. Also included in the logo was "the Journal Foreign and Domestic."

There were no headlines as they are known today. When a story or commentary was headed with anything, it usually was a city and date, ordinarily in the same size type as the story or 2 to 4 points higher. On occasion, the "heading" was a salutation to a letter or similar opening, usually set in the same size type as the letter or story below. Generally, there was little extra space between stories, and only an occasional jimdash between a story and the one following.

For these reasons, each column had to be examined carefully to see if the subject had changed to be anything about the Constitution or Bill of Rights, unless that column were obviously fiction or some other consistent feature.

Certain features were standard. Rather than being devoted to the most important news of the day, much of the front page (usually the first two columns or a little more or less) was often lent to a moral lesson or some other lecture-type feature. Some space on the front page (occasionally as much as a full column) was lent to small display or large classified ads.

The back page always had a poet's corner in the upper left and usually fiction occupied the rest of the page that was not advertisements. Occasionally, however, a very important set of proposed amendments or other writing relating to this project turned up on the back page, so that page could not be ignored.

This left the right side of the front page (that portion not occupied by ads) and pages 2 and 3 for most of the foreign intelligence and domestic occurrences of which the paper's logo spoke. Some ads also could appear on pages 2 and 3.

In all, the advertising was not extensive, amounting to as little as 5-1/2 inches or as much 23 inches per issue of "private advertising" (that is, advertising obviously recognizable and apparently paid for by an individual or company, including the printer himself). It was impossible to tell which of the official-looking items (proclamations, notices, etc.) were placed in the paper as a public service or news item and which were paid for as legal advertisements.

In the direct quotations below, all original language and punctuation, including early spellings and misspellings were preserved for authenticity. The paragraphs in the newspaper were extremely long; in some cases below, additional paragraphing has been used for ease of reading, as is noted where appropriate.

The Gazette had the opportunity to print letters about itself (paragraphing added for ease of reading):

> You will be pleased to understand that I am one of the old readers of your good old whig paper and many a good and timely hint I have found it to contain. Many a rougue has smarted under the independent lashes you have bestowed; and the country has been very much indebted to you for your noble exertions in favour of liberty, which I hope they will never forget.
>
> Now Sirs, there is many matters that concern the publick, which we folks in the country have all our learning about from the newspapers; and indeed you Boston people, tho' we cannot always understand your poloticks, some time put such pieces in the paper as does a world of good; . . .
>
> [Rebellious troublemakers] fear not God and the slings of their own consciences; yet they mortally dread being newspapered, and having the truth told. . . .[52]

General Contents of the Boston Gazette

A person reading an 18th Century weekly newspaper needs to remind himself or herself often that news came in to the printer-editors only through the mail or personal visits. They had little control over content. However, the selection of what they did print from that which was available could provide some idea of their interests and personal agendas.

The Boston Gazette seemed truly interested in the development of the Constitution. It ran various states' lists of delegates to the Constitutional Convention,[53] votes from the states,[54] poetry that was a prayer for wisdom of the framers,[55] praise of delegations to the Constitutional Convention,[56] praise for the Massachusetts delegates in particular,[57] and many other articles and commentaries having to do with both resistance to and support for the Constitution.[58]

Very impressive was the coverage of January 28, 1788, on which a total of 134 inches combined was devoted to the Constitution; this coverage included--all of pages 1, 2, and 4, and nearly 10 inches on page 3. In all of this space, speech and press freedoms were not mentioned at all; the Magna Carta was mentioned, but only in respect to representation.[59]

Direct Mentions of the Bill of Rights

Direct mentions of the Bill of Rights, as such, were not numerous in the Boston Gazette, although a few sets of amendments (some of which mentioned First Amendment concerns and some of which did not) were offered for readers to consider. The most vigorous discussion of the Bill of Rights was found in a letter from "One of the Common People." (This was one long paragraph in the original; paragraphs are introduced here for ease of reading.)

> A Writer in the Centinel who calls himself "One of the middle-interest," has gone into a long inquiry to find out "where we learned the idea of a Bill of Rights." It is of little importance where it was learned . . . .
>
> This writer thinks it would be superfluous to preface or combine with the federal constitution a bill of rights, because the state constitution is already guarded by one.
>
> If the new plan is adopted everyone knows the state constitution will be very materially and essentially altered; and so far will the security of our rights be precarious and dependent on meer [sic] acts of Congress, which [could] render our priviledges [sic] as undefined as this writer says are those of the subjects of England; . . .
>
> This writer asks--"Where is the liberty of the press taken away?" If congress have the right to controul it, they may be said to have a right to take it away.
>
> Will not the United States Attorney have the power to prosecute any printer for a pretended libel against the United States? Will not a printer be triable for the pretended libel against any foreign minister or consul, or for a libel against any of the individual states, by a federal tribunal?
>
> Are not such prosecutions warranted by the following clause in the new constitution? "All controversies wherein the United States shall be a party, all cases affecting foreign ministers and consuls, and all controversies between a citizen and a state," shall be cognizable before a federal tribunal.--Cannot congress by virtue of this clause, restrain all publick information of mal-administration?
>
> And will not congress have absolute uncontrolled power over printers, and every other person within the United States territory . . . ? [B]ut it is well to recollect that they may unmake them, or not make them too, if they please, and when they please; but if it be a part of the constitution, the people alone

> will have the power to change or annul it.
>
> It is too great a privilege to be left at loose. I sincerely believe if the federal constitution which shall be *given,* be *clearly defined* and a *boundary line* be marked out, delaratory of the extent of their jurisdiction, of the rights which the state hold unalienable, and the privilege which the citizens thereof can never part with, the republick of America will last for ages, and be free.[60]

Nearly three years later, a "correspondent" signing himself as "A REPUBLICAN" wrote a lengthy piece about the necessity of a bill or rights. With both this letter and the one above, it is difficult to tell whether it was Edes or one of his sons writing under a pseudonym or truly another person. In this situation, as will be pointed out below, Edes could have rejected the copy if he thought this point of view dangerous. As will be seen with other material below, he seemed to present both sides. The longer, more impassioned pieces were *for* the protections of Bill of Rights-type amendments.

The letter from A REPUBLICAN said in part (paragraphing enhanced):

> Candor and fairness are useful to every man, but to the Printer of a public paper they are highly essential; for whenever he becomes remarkably destitute of these characteristics, his words are wind, and they leave no impression on the mind. The editor of the *Centinel* [a competing Boston newspaper] does not always pay a strict attention to these in his publications--he is neither candid not just in his observations on Wednesday last respecting the amendments to the Constitution. . . .
>
> [H]e frequently intimated as boldly as he dare, that the advocates of the new Constitution in Convention espoused the proposed amendments only with a view to deceive its opponents into an unconditional adoption, without having ever had any real intention of endeavoring to procure their admission to constitute a part of the system--What effrontery! . . .
>
> In the Centinel of Wednesday last it is asserted, that the President and others declared, "that the proposition of amendments was not made as being necessary to better the Constitution, but merely as a conciliatory measure to ease the minds of some members, until reflection and reasoning on the subject could convince them of its goodness without them." . . .
>
> But if we look into the Ratification, we shall there find the "general sentiment" totally different, and expressed in the

> strongest language--it is there solemnly declared, that the amendments would not only quiet the apprehensions of the good people of this Commonwealth, but "would more effectively guard against an undue administration of the Federal Government." . . .
>
> The President [in the journals of the convention] says, --"the system (meaning the Constitution) if amended, as I feel assured it will be, . . . cannot fail to give the people of the United States a greater degree of political freedom." . . . And in another place, the President said emphatically, "I give my assent to the Constitution IN FULL CONFIDENCE that the amendments proposed will soon become a part of the system." . . .
>
> With this cloud of evidence before them, can the Editor of the Centinel, or his Correspondents, with any color of candor of justice say, that the members in general, and the President in particular did not espouse the amendments as being necessary to better the Constitution?--If they will, there is no shame in them.[61]

This message was considerably longer and included arguments that would lead one to conclude that the Gazette's giving this view so much space indicated it must have supported ratifying the Bill of Rights, whereas the Federalist Centinel apparently stood on the opposite side to the end.

Commentary on the Constitution

An important question from the time of the first publication of the proposed Constitution in 1787, even for those who supported a Bill of Rights, was who was to get these amendments together? The Gazette printed letters and commentaries with various points of view on this. "AN AMERICAN CITIZEN," whose article was labeled as being from a Philadelphia paper, was given prominent space by Edes for his views; his article was set in a long column of larger-than-usual Italic type. (Paragraphs enhanced.)

> When we consider the nature of our affairs, and consider the business of amending the constitution with the same measure in any other country, we discover at once, that a general convention will not be the proper body to effect the proposed alterations.
>
> Were the state legislatures to elect the members of a federal convention, it is evident that the people would have no representative therein; on the other hand, were the people at large to elect them, the state governments would have no

> representatives: and thus the federal qualities of the constitution would be endangered and that consolidation about which so much apprehension has been expressed, would certainly ensue.
>
> But these objections do not exist against proposing amendments by the two houses of Congress; for the house of representatives will consent to none, that will affect the liberties of the people at large, by whom they are chosen; and the senate will consent to none, that will diminish the rights of the state governments, by whose legislatures they are elected, nor will they agree to anything that will change the federal qualities of the constitution. . . .
>
> In short, whether we consider what equity and policy suggest as proper here, or reason from a comparison with the necessary and rational proceedings under other forms of government, we must prefer the measure of proposing amendments by the new Congress as the only one that is strictly proper. . . .
>
> Cool reason is best exercised, when the measures pursuing have the complexion of ordinary acts of legislation. Passion naturally rises high in extraordinary assemblies. . . .
>
> 'Tis freely unreasonable to doubt the conduct of men . . . repeatedly elected for public service, and it were preposterous to suppose they do not possess and deserve the confidence of the people.[62]

Typical of the short "snippets" of material, often without headings of any sort or separation from other copy, that the Gazette published throughout the Constitutional debate in the states was a comment of a Mr. King at the Philadelphia convention: "Perhaps the people of America are the first, who by the social compact, ever obtained the right to a full and fair representation, in making the law of their country."[63] Other short statements of this sort could be found only by careful reading among the unheadlined items in each issue.

Recording Views of Outstanding Leaders of the Day

Both Benjamin Franklin and George Washington were among the early outstanding leaders whom the Gazette quoted as being in support of the Constitution as it was first promulgated, without worrying about additional amendments. Since historians have found that such notices often were paid for, it cannot be concluded that the Antifederalist Edes gave the space just to be fair or magnanimous. But over the years studied, he gave space to opponents' letters at other times also, and these clearly were not paid for. The addresses of Franklin and Washington were the most eloquent.

Franklin said that he endorsed the Constitution because, while it was not perfect, "it is a very good instrument and probably as good as any group of men, each with his own views and shortcomings, can put together." He recommended the Constitution's adoption and said nothing of a Bill of Rights or amendments.[64]

Below Franklin's address, Washington was reported as saying, "*'Should the states reject this excellent Constitution, the probability is, an opportunity will never again offer to cancel another in peace--the next will be drawn in blood!'* Great Heaven avert that direful catastrophe!"[65] The last sentence seemed to have been added by Edes, since it was beyond the quotation marks and was not Italicized by the printer.

Edes printed many complimentary items about Washington and reprinted letters, birthday announcements, and other notices showing the country's high regard for him.[66]

Even though Edes was said to have the view that a Bill of Rights was definitely needed and from the passage above it can be seen that Washington plead for passage of the Constitution without additions or amendments, Edes followed one such plea with the comment that if the Constitution were acceptable by Washington and Franklin, after all the sacrifices they had made, it ought to be satisfactory with everyone.[67]

After Massachusetts ratified the initial Constitution, the *Gazette* printed a letter from Washington "to a gentleman in this town." He praised the Massachusetts action and said that he was sure this passage would lead other states to do the same.[68]

Following the Constitutional Developments from the Beginning

The *Boston Gazette* followed the developments of the formation of the Constitution and its amendments from the beginning. In the very first 1787 issue, dated January 1, it reported a 15-3/4-inch proclamation taken from a New York newspaper of the previous December 16, which had reported on a development in Virginia. This is indicative of how news about the development of the Constitution was passed among the young states of the new nation.[69] There were many such instances in the *Gazette*.

Following the Sentiments of the People in Massachusetts

Representative of local news on the reaction to the Constitution and Bill of Rights was the report of the proceedings of the tradesmen of the town of Boston in a meeting led by Paul Revere. Among these resolutions was an angry reply to those who had accused tradesmen of being against the adoption of the Constitution and the advice that the Constitution should be adopted without "any conditions, pretended amendments, or alterations whatever."[70] There was no mention of any interest in a bill of rights.

Attention to the Religion Clause of the First Amendment

In a 26-inch letter to a Medfield man printed in the *Gazette*, readers were reminded that freedom of religion included tolerance for freedom of the religions of others, as well as freedom for the majority:

> Our new Constitution truly says, "The happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of their government, essentially depend upon piety, religion and morality." And on March 2, 1780, the compilers of it said to the people, "Religion must at all times be a matter between God and individuals." . . . And every man will be self-condemned who does not practically, as well as verbally, allow this liberty, even to the weak brethren.[71]

Asking for Understanding of the Public

The *Gazette* seemed to encourage its readership to be constructive in their views of the important decisions being made about the country's future. Even though Edes has been characterized as being absolutely against the adoption of the Constitution without a Bill of Rights, he printed advice of conciliation. As pointed out above, it was impossible to tell who really wrote the "from a correspondent" material. (Paragraphing enhanced.)

> It is sincerely hoped says a correspondent, that those citizens who have warmly opposed the adoption of the proposed system of federal government, will, as their endeavours have been defeated, through the concurrence of a great majority of their compatriots in favor of it, lay aside their opposition, convinced that whatever end it might have answered heretofore, it cannot now produce any other effect than to disseminate hatred, malice, and a train of satanical passions in private life.
>
> When a good man is of opinion a measure is likely to be injurious to his country, he opposes it with all exertions, when it is adopted, he cheerfully acquiesces in it.[72]

Prominent Pleas for Freedom of the Press

Quoting from the *Evening Chronicle* ("a Paper lately established at Philadelphia"), the *Gazette* printed on March 5, 1787, a sentiment for the importance of freedom of the press in the young United States. The first paragraph below is the direct quotation from the *Evening Chronicle*, but the final line is the comment of the *Boston Gazette*. What it meant exactly is difficult to say: whether the Edeses did not feel all that free in Massachusetts, or whether they did not believe in as much freedom for the press as this editor was asking, or whether they thought he would be unsafe in Massachusetts, whether they were panning the state's tax on advertising again, or what of a number of other suggestions.

> "The FREEDOM of the PRESS is insisted upon, as it is the indubitable right of every unbiased Printer, and without which every News-Paper, however fair, should meet the contempt of

> Freemen.--Therefore his intentions are, to spare no pains to develope the intrigues of the Rulers of our citizens,--the Ministers of Government,--and the interests of the people. For this purpose he requests every information that genius or knowledge can grant, and every consistent aid that the sons and daughters of Freedom can bestow, as his press shall be free and open to their lucubrations."
>
> We advise said Editor not to move into the Commonwealth of Massachusetts! ![73]

Not every correspondent of the *Gazette*, however, felt that freedom of the press need be guaranteed in the federal constitution. Some thought the state guarantees were sufficient:

> The neglect of the Convention to mention the LIBERTY of the PRESS arose from a respect to the state constitutions, in each of which this palladium of liberty is secured, and which is guaranteed to them as an essential part of their republican form of government. But, supposing this had not been done, the *Liberty of the Press* would have been an inherent and political right, as long as nothing was said *against it.* The Convention have said nothing against securing the privilege of eating and drinking, and yet no man supposes that right to be endangered by their silence about it.[74]

Edes illustrated the benefits of a free press by referring to worse conditions in other countries:

> A BOOK, in Spain, must pass through six Courts, and if touching upon religious affairs, the Court of Inquisition, before it is published. . . .
>
> [W]hile we rejoice that no such powers exist in America to cramp the Freedom of the Press, we cannot but hope that this invaluable Privilege will ever be held sacred, and the *every attempt* to INFRINGE IT will be *defeated.*[75]

Turning to another country, Edes reflected on a newspaper advertising tax in Ireland. Surely he identified with this, since he had a similar complaint about his own state.

> By a letter from Dublin we are informed that an alteration will take place in the next money bills, respecting the duty payable on news-paper advertisements, the present exhorbitant tax thereon, far exceeding that payable in England, . . . [I]ts longer continuance will eminently justify a remark made by the Right Hon. Charles Fox, who speaking of the additional news-advertising duty in Ireland, calls it "a tax of resentment, not of revenue." . . .[76]

Mentions of the Special Role of Newspapers

The fact that newspapers were recognized as informing the people during this time of important decision-making was demonstrated by a letter "from a gentleman of eminence in another state to a gentleman in this town." It was impossible to tell if the last line had been added by Edes, but it seems likely that it had been, since there seems to be a change of point of view.

> . . . One *great cause* of the discontents of the *back* counties is their *total* want of *regular intelligence.* This gives designing men an opportunity of forgeing the *grossest* falsehoods, and propagating them without fear of detection, there being no public *newspaper* to stare at . . . . It is a fact that there are several respectable towns in this state where a newspaper rarely makes its appearance from January to December, and it is equally true that these towns are the most boisterous; for from their lack of *authentic information,* they are obliged to depend upon hearsay . . . .
>
> *O what pity!--Do tell them to take the papers.* [77]

In a letter comparing the views of Federalists, Antifederalists, and mock-Federalists, another view of the press was found (paragraphing enhanced):

> Among other artifices adopted by the enemies to a national government, to prejudice the public, against the new Constitution, one is an insinuation that the Presses have not been free and impartial, and that a "band of constraint," has prevented a free inquiry; . . .
>
> The truth of the case is, that as a people, we are destitute of FEDERAL FEATURES, and HABITS--the several *State Constitutions* are *local, partial,* and *selfish*; they are not calculated in their construction, to form *national views*; this great object is beyond their limits--and *dear bought* experience proves that the *unbounded sovereignty* of the individual governments, is incompatible with a *national* system. . . .
>
> This constitution will bear the nicest and closest examination; the more it is scrutinized the more its excellencies will unfold themselves--and notwithstanding what its enemies assert the Presses are free, and the antifederalists have made them groan with their repetitions upon repetitions,--much more having been published against it, than in its favour, though without obscuring its inherent lustre. The system is also published for the inspection of the people--and by the *recommendation* of its

> patriotick [sic] framers, conventions are to assemble to consider and determine upon it:--do these things look like "cramming it down our throates?"--detestable insinuation! . . .[78]

This letter concluded with an exhortation for the public to elect wise men to carry out the government.

Another letter Edes printed criticized the views of both the Antifederalists and the Federalists. It also sounded like good advice for today's problems in negative political advertising in that it said perhaps the newspapers did a disservice to carry them. This was one of several letters that bespoke the Federalist view that if candidates for office were worthy, that would be known without its being discussed or advertised in newspapers. The writer indicates the Antifederalist would have been against this idea.

> The antifederalists begin to fear the good sense of the people will rise superior to their machinations against the Federal System--they have vehemently clamoured for a full, public discussion of the subject,--and having exhausted themselves they now cry out for a truce.--Hear MENTOR in Saturday's Centinel. "Would it not be wiser" says he, "to suspend all news-paper discussions either on Government or Characters? Let the intelligent inhabitants of America think for themselves," &c.--But Mr. Mentor will find himself mistaken if he supposes that they will keep their thoughts to themselves.--No, they will not only think, but speak, write, and publish their sentiments on the great subject of the Constitution, and scrutinize characters fully.--Truth is their object, & the friends of truth, honesty and an efficient government their confidence.[79]

Another tribute to the role of newspapers was attributed to "a correspondent." As stated above, such pieces could have been written by the printer-editor. The following example represented a good opportunity for Edes to plea for press freedom as a condition of accepting the Constitution, but he did not write or add this thought.

> The world, says a correspondent, was never blessed with any mode of communicating knowledge among the bulk of mankind equal to that of NEWS-PAPERS. No publications are put so frequently into the hands of so many people. No book or pamphlet contains such variety, especially of the historical, political and moral kind. . . . And it may be doubted whether tyranny can rear

> her iron scepter over a people, where a free press is enjoyed, and a frequent circulation of news-papers takes place among all orders and ranks of society.[80]

One plea for freedom of the press started out as an explanation that insurrections, such as the Shays Rebellion in Massachusetts, arise mainly out of ignorance, which would not exist if people had ready access to a newspaper. But it turned into a caustic criticism of Massachusetts' stamp tax on newspaper advertising. The writer explained that it was to escape such oppression that the colonists had come to America from England in the first place.

> It is very extraordinary, says a correspondent, that the writers in favor of government in the commonwealth of Massachusetts Bay should now assert that one cause of the late REBELLION was that NEWS-PAPERS did not circulate among the people remote from the town of Boston, and it was owing to their being deceived by artful and designing men, who imposed upon them the most flagitious lies and falsehoods, which could not be contradicted and refuted but through the channel of NEWSPAPERS; when it is notorious than an INFAMOUS Act has for some time existed in that government, which imposes a duty on NEWS-PAPERS and ADVERTISEMENTS.
>
> Remember, ye BOSTONIANS, adds our correspondent, that your fore fathers, who fled to the wilderness of America to avoid the RELIGIOUS TYRANNY of England, in turn, TYRRANISED over others of different persuasions; and that you, their defendants, were the first to resist, the odious STAMP-ACT and TEA-DUTY, which the MANDATES and MERCENARIES of Britain attempted to enforce and "cram-down our throats." But alas! as soon as our liberties and independence are declared and established, your Legislature comes forward, and not only lays a DUTY ON TEA of 6d. per lb., but adops [sic] a STAMP-ACT which, it seems, is not assigned as one reason of the late commotion and insurrection. . . .[81]

A person signing his or her name simply "S" wrote on of the singular position in society of books, newspapers and other publications and against the stamp tax that the writer saw as damaging to this gathering of knowledge. This sounds as if it could have been the beginning of the Library of Congress, or it could be responsible for the fact that at least two original copies of the Boston Gazette were saved.

To the Honorable the Members of the Senate and House of

Representatives.

Gentlemen,

> I have long wished for the benefit of this, and of generations yet to be born, that two copies of every book, pamphlet, or newspaper, printed in this state, might be given to government, by those who print the same, to be sent quarterly; one to the Librarian of Harvard-Colledge [sic]; and the other to the Secretary of State, to be placed where government may direct,--for which, as well as many reasons, friendly to literature, that might be urged, it is hoped government may be induced to take off the present tax on newspapers,--those vehicles of intelligence throughout this state and the world.
> Boston, February, 1787[82]

The Gazette attended to problems of newspapers in other states, including in its news columns notices sent to it. An example involved a problem in Pennsylvania:

> A petition from the Printers of News Papers in the city of Philadelphia, was read, setting forth, that by late regulation of the Postmaster General of the United States, they were prevented from affording that satisfaction to the public, of the occurrences in other states as formerly, being deprived of the benefit of a transferance of News Papers between this and others of the United States, and praying this House to instruct the delegates representing this State, in the Congress of the United Sates, to procure this their necessary and long accustomed privilege.[83]

Acknowledgment of Connection Between Freedom and Possible Libel

A notice from a New York editor as he took over the New York Journal and Weekly Register demonstrated that some editors acknowledged that freedom of the press had its dangers in the area of libel if handled carelessly or viciously (paragraphing enhanced).

> . . . It may be presumed, that the liberal principles upon which this paper [the New York Journal and Weekly Register] was at first founded, and the zealous and unwearied pains which were taken to establish it amidst a crisis of the greatest disaffection to the cause of America--and to disseminate the glorious principles of religious and political freedom throughout the states--. . . are not entirely erased from the memory of our fellow citizens.
>
> Thus permanently established--not only as a vehicle of intelligence, but also of political and philosophical discussion--this paper circulated universally, uniting all ranks of people in a determined resolution--to oppose the arbitrary encroachments of British power, or to fall gloriously in the contest.

> . . . The question now is--shall this ancient journal, this detection of treason, and centinel of the rights of human nature--fall to the ground? . . .
>
> A sacred regard shall be paid to all private characters, nor shall any anonimous scurrility, or billingsgate addresses to, or observations upon, individuals in domestic life, find a place in this paper. He conceives it to be a printer's duty always to distinguish between the sacred freedom of the press (by all these states, in particular, always esteemed a darling privilege) and the vile LICENTIOUSNESS of it.[84]

The new editor went on to explain that the paper would be printed on Thursdays at $2 per annum and he added that, since every business needs money, he would appreciate people's paying $1 of that in advance.

Suggested Amendments

Each state came up with suggested amendments to the Constitution. What we call the First Amendment today (and what many people think is "First" because it was regarded by the Founding Fathers as most important) was surprisingly low or non-existent in the state-promulgated lists of amendments found reprinted in the Gazette.

The nine amendments suggested by Massachusetts and published in February 1788 made no mention of freedom of speech or the press, although the delegates to that state convention may have meant to take care of this with Amendment 1, the provision that all powers not expressly delegated to Congress are referred to the states and exercised by them. Since most state constitutions provided for freedom of expression, perhaps these delegates thought it unnecessary to repeat that.

The Massachusetts suggestions stated:

> . . . And as it is the opinion of this Convention, that certain amendments and alterations in the said Constitution, would remove the fears and quiet the apprehensions of many of the good people of this Commonwealth, and more especially guard against an undue administration of the federal government; the Convention do [sic] therefore recommend that the following alterations and provisions be introduced to said Constitution.[85]

Beyond the first suggestion, mentioned above, others involved representation, direct federal taxes, business monopolies, use of the grand jury to protect the accused, court jurisdiction in cases of diversity of citizenship, jury trials in civil cases, and limitation of Congressional powers.

The *Gazette* did not print the New York suggestions, but the *Massachusetts Spy* did print them, and it is interesting to note that, like Massachusetts, New York made no mention of freedom of press, speech, or assembly.[86]

Another example of state-suggested amendments came from Maryland in April 1788. While these amendments were not numbered, there seemed to be 22 of them, some of which addressed freedoms now handled by the First Amendment (numbers provided by the authors to show order of appearance):

> 2) Wherefore, whenever the forms of government are perverted and public liberty manifestly endangered, and all other means of redress are ineffectual, the people may, and of right ought, to object to, reform the old, or establish a new government.
>
> 3) That . . . every man hath a right to petition the legislature, for the redress of grievances, in a peaceable and orderly manner.
>
> 12) That there will be no national religion established by law; but that all persons be equally entitled to protection in their religious liberty.
>
> 20) That the people have a right to freedom of speech, of writing and publishing their sentiments, and therefore that the press ought to be free to examine the proceedings of the government, and the conduct of its offices.[87]

The first amendments proposed by Congress appeared in the September 9, 1789, *Gazette*. They are of some interest so that the reader interested in First Amendment freedoms especially and the Bill of Rights as a whole can see what was originally drawn up. As explained in the historical section of this paper, these were cut to 12 before being sent out to the states for ratification, then to 10 by the time they were ratified. As one can see from comparing these 17 to the final 10, much of the cutting was done by merging similar amendments.

For comparison purposes, the original 17 amendments and the final 10 are summarized here:

ORIGINAL 17 AMENDMENTS

1) One representative for every 30,000 until number reaches 100; then regulated by Congress, but not less than 100 representatives nor less than one per 40,000 persons, until the number reaches 200; then regulated by Congress, but not less than 200 representatives or less than one for every 50,000 persons.

2) No law varying compensation of members of Congress shall take effect until after an election has intervened.

3) No law establishing a religion of prohibiting free exercise of it.

4) Freedom of speech, press, assembly, right to petition.

5) Maintenance of well-regulated militia; right to keep and bear arms; but conscientious objectors will be excused.

6) No quartering of soldiers in private homes except in time of war, then regulated.

7) Protection against unreasonable search, seizure; restrictions on search warrants.

8) Protection against double jeopardy; no compulsion to testify against oneself; due process; full compensation for private property taken for public good.

FINAL 10 AMENDMENTS

1) No establishment of religion; freedom of religious practice; freedom of speech, press, assembly, petition.

2) Well-regulated militia; right of people to keep and bear arms.

3) [Exactly like original 6.]

4) [Exactly like original 7.]

5) No trial for capital or infamous crime without indictment by grand jury, except in military cases or in time of war; no double jeopardy; no witnessing against oneself; due process guarantee; no taking of private property without just compensation.

6) Speedy and public trial, impartial jury in area of crime, accused informed of nature and cause of accusation; confrontation with witnesses; subpoena power for witnesses in accused's favor; assistance of counsel.

7) Jury trial in common law suits if value of controversy exceeds $20; no fact tried by jury re-examined except by rules of common law.

8) [Exactly like original 13.]

9) [Exactly like original 15.]

10) [Exactly like original 17, except that the words "or to the People" were added.]

9) Speedy and public trial, accused informed of charges, confrontation of witnesses, subpoena privilege, assistance of counsel for accused.

10) All trials except impeachment and military held before impartial jury in area of crime, with unanimity for conviction; indictment by grand jury; if crime outside U.S., trial could be held within U.S.

11) No appeal to Supreme Court if value of controversy less than $1,000; trial by jury under common law re-examinable only under common law.

12) Trial by jury in suits of common law.

13) No excessive bail or fines; no cruel or unusual punishments.

14) No state shall infringe the right of trial by jury in criminal cases, nor the right of conscience, nor the freedom of speech, or of the press.

15) Enumeration of certain rights in constitution should not be construed to deny others to the people.

16) No branch of government can exercise the powers granted to either of the other two.

17) Powers not delegated by the Constitution nor prohibited to the states are reserved for the states.

THE FINAL YEAR AND A HALF

In the year and a half from the time Congress published its original 17 amendments and the time they were consolidated, trimmed to 10, and finally ratified in December 1791, one would have expected to find vigorous and robust debate about various proposed amendments and other considerations of final ratification in the Boston Gazette. This was not the case.

There was plenty of news about Indian uprisings, settlement of the Ohio Country, and how to plant corn by moonlight. There were a number of articles on terms of office. There were long moral lessons occupying the entire front page. There was extensive and abiding interest in the French Revolution and the move for independence in Poland. But there was little about the Bill of Rights. By no measure could the attention to the ratification of the Bill of Rights match the attention to the ratification of the Constitution earlier in the half-decade studied.

In one issue of the Gazette (August 16, 1790), there were two very lengthy articles, one occupying a full column of the front page and the other a column and a half on page 2. The first was entirely about terms of office, but the second, signed "A REPUBLICAN," had some material on terms of office, but a good deal more on the Bill of Rights, as reported above under the heading "Direct Mentions of the Bill of Rights."[89]

Although the Gazette did have these two longer articles, the mystery is the lack of frequency of coverage on the Bill of Rights. There had been a note, at least, detailing every state's ratification of the Constitution.[90] When Massachusetts ratified the Constitution, there were extensive details of the celebrations and Edes even delivered himself of a rare piece of art. With 187 Yeas and 63 Nays, Massachusetts had become the sixth state to ratify (after Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut), which the Gazette portrayed with a row of pillars, one named for each supporting state and the three more needed pillars sketched in.[91]

No such close attention to the ratification of the Bill of Rights was found, even though the *Gazette* was read for two and one-half months after the last needed ratification. The researchers did not even find a final copy of the Bill of Rights, even though the paper had printed the preliminary suggestions, which were much longer. Papers were read through February 1792 to look for notice of ratification or the actual amendments. This time seemed sufficient, since the last needed state to ratify did so in mid-December 1791.

CONCLUSION

By studying copies of one of the most outstanding colonial and early American newspapers, the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*, the researchers sought to confirm and add to its history as portrayed by other writers and to assess its role in the presentation of news and commentary relative to the development and ratification of the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

It has been shown that this newspaper was regarded by many historians as the most influential in the American colonies in pre-Revolutionary days and one that was instrumental in bringing about the nation's independence. It lasted but eight and one-half years after the end of this research period in 1792 and four years after it changed its name again (to *Boston Gazette the Weekly Republic Journal*) in 1794.

Clearly, Benjamin Edes and his *Gazette* were not as vigorous and hard-hitting during the Bill of Rights ratification period as they had been during the pre-Revolutionary War period. This research demonstrates that there had been quite a dimunition of vigor between the Constitution adoption period and the Bill of Rights period, even though they were much closer together.

The present researchers had hoped to uncover more Bill of Rights enthusiasm and fire by carefully reading these very difficult papers. While they were not willing to discount the Gazette as completely as some earlier writers seem to have done or to put Edes down as a mere whiner, they concluded that his hardships and his declining health may have kept him from being the force he had been in the past.

Historians have indicated that the Bill of Rights drew little enthusiasm in many quarters, even though history has proved it to be such a vital part of making the United States what it is today. With the many other problems confronting citizens of the young country--a common currency, splitting the power between federal and state levels, setting up a court system, keeping an eye on western development and Indian affairs, to name just a few--it is little wonder that anything without an URGENT label dropped from people's minds easily. Also fairly common was the belief by many that protections provided in state constitutions were sufficient.

To assess whether the performance of Edes and the Gazette was materially different from that of any other editor and paper that had been operating over the two decades or so that spanned the pre-Revolutionary period through the Bill of Rights period, one would have to set forth with his or her magnifying glass and read other papers with the same completeness as used here.

To return to the title of this paper--Was Edes' Boston Gazette a trumpeter of sedition that became quieter by the time the campaign for a Bill or Rights came along? Quite possibly it was, especially in view of the business problems Edes had developed.

There were a number of changes from earlier days. For instance, there were no prominent authors, as listed in the historical section of this paper, contributing to the Gazette in the era of the Bill of Rights ratification, as there had been earlier. Less space was lent to the Bill or Rights than had been to the Constitution and (from the literature) the Revolutionary movement.

The United States was developing considerable growing pains by the time the Constitution was adopted, and these definitely were becoming more complex as the Bill of Rights came up for consideration. It is likely that everyone's attention, not just that of the Gazette, was diverted to the urgent and practical. Only by comparing performances of similar papers could one be sure that the Gazette had become more "quiet" than others.

In the meantime, some very interesting quotations showing early views of First Amendment freedoms have been "mined" from the Gazette for the enjoyment and use of others. Regrettably, not all of these could be included because of space limitations, but it was felt that an adequate presentation of direct quotations in sufficient length to preserve their character is more important than the number of such quotations.

The findings of this study may be put into context with the comments of historians of the period.

Rutland commented that the life of a printer was difficult in general, especially during the 1789-1800 time period, when only 28 of the nearly 100 newspapers published at the beginning of the period were still in business by the turn of the century.[93] He lamented the harsh life of a printer-editor after 50 years in the business:

> I hold this truth to be self evident, that there is no class of workingmen so poorly paid as printers. For one who makes himself rich by printing . . . fifty barely live above poverty and die in possession of little more than enough to pay the joiner for a coffin and the sexton for a grave.[94]

Among those especially hard-hit during the period were the Republican or Anti-federalist printers.[95], with Edes among these. Although his newspaper office had been the gathering place for such political writers as John Hancock, John and Samuel Adams, James Otis, and Josiah Quincy, he no longer represented the majority view on important issues of the day during the late 1780s and early 1790s. Edes opposed a number of policies of the new federal administration, which he attacked with "savage ferocity."[96]

Edes also was an ardent supporter of the French revolutionaries and remained extremely anti-British. [97]. He favored giving Indians representation in Congress or giving up lands west of the Ohio to them.[98].

In his continuing battle against the dominant Federalists, Edes attempted to discount their successes in Massachusetts. When a Federalist carried Boston in the election for Congress in 1792, Edes compiled a list to show that most of those who voted for the Federalist candidate had vested interests.[99]

Buckingham put the last years of the *Gazette* into context:

> The day of its [the *Gazette*'s] popularity, and, consequently, that of its prosperity, was past. Differences of opinion, concerning public measures, had weakened old associations and contributed to the organization of new parties.[100]

The comments of these historians duplicate the findings of this research. Benjamin Edes and his *Boston Gazette* had truly been a trumpeter of sedition before the Revolutionary War, but, even though he published some interesting and somewhat provocative pieces during the period from the ratification of the Constitution to the ratification of the Bill of Rights, he definitely had turned quieter during this period.

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98. Ibid., p. 360.

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"This Paper is Owned by Many Thousands of Workingmen and Women": Contradictions of a Socialist Daily

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> This paper is not like any other... This paper is owned by many thousands of workingmen and women who have established it and invested thousands of dollars in it, not because they expect to receive profits, but because they realize that only by getting the truth about present society to their fellow workers can that society be changed so as to bring better conditions to those who produce all wealth...[1]

From October 25, 1906 through December 4, 1912, Chicago socialists maintained a daily newspaper which, they believed, was unlike any other English-language newspaper then being published anywhere in the world. The Chicago Daily Socialist boasted that it was the world's first English-language socialist newspaper, and the only daily dedicated to the interests of Chicago's (and the world's) working class. The paper proclaimed that it not only supported workers in their struggles--it was written, edited, owned and controlled by them.

Party members and local unions responded with resolutions of support, purchases of Chicago Daily Socialist bonds, subscriptions and contributions. Despite prodigious investment of time and resources, the daily hovered on the brink of extinction until it finally collapsed under the weight of a dramatic expansion occasioned by the Chicago Newspaper Trust's 1912 lockout of union pressmen, drivers, stereotypers and newsboys.[2] Throughout the daily's troubled existence Chicago socialists struggled to define the proper relationship between the party and its press, and to resolve the difficult question of how to attract and hold a readership accustomed to commercial dailies while holding fast to socialist principles.

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[1] Chicago Daily Socialist, Feb. 19 1909, "Talking About Our Paper." (Henceforth CDS in notes; Daily and Daily Socialist are used interchangeably in the text)

In retrospect, it seems clear that the Daily Socialist never fully realized its professed goals. While readers and the Socialist Party exerted strong influence upon the daily's editorial stance, they never controlled its management. The paper was not written by its readers, for the most part, though it certainly was more open to their contributions than were other newspapers of the day. Nor could the Socialist Party always rely upon the Daily to convey party information to its readers, or to reflect party policy towards the labor movement. Yet both the Party and rank-and-file readers clearly believed that a socialist paper (and the Daily Socialist in particular) should be controlled by the party, and ought to relate to its working-class readers in a manner fundamentally different than did the capitalist dailies it competed with.

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[2] Philip Taft, "The Limits of Labor Unity: The Chicago Newspaper Strike of 1912," Labor History 19(1), 1978, pp. 100-29; J.O. Bentall, "Who Killed Chicago Daily World," International Socialist Review, Jan. 1913, pp. 557-60.

"Plutocracy Has Stood the Shock"

> I have a faint recollection that the editor (your humble servant) was just a little surprised that the social revolution did not break out on the morning after the first edition was launched on an unsuspecting world. But plutocracy has stood the shock...[3]

On October 25, 1906, the first issue of the Daily Socialist hit the streets. Continuing the Cook County Socialist Party's weekly Chicago Socialist, the daily culminated two years of efforts to launch a daily newspaper and was part of a long tradition through which Chicago's working class sought to develop and sustain its own cultural institutions. Prominently displayed on Page 1 was an editorial entitled "This Paper Is for Working Men and Women":

> THEREFORE it is against capitalists. BECAUSE the interests of the employers or capitalists are just exactly opposite to the interests... of working people.... All the daily papers published in Chicago are for capitalism.... No daily newspaper in America is in favor of ending the present capitalist system, excepting this paper... The Chicago Daily Socialist alone wants labor to free itself from its chains.[4]

The Daily struggled with 20,000 - 30,000 readers for five-and-a-half years, until the 1912 newspaper lockout enabled it to boost circulation to 300,000 copies under a new name (the morning and evening World). Seven months later the Daily announced "In all probability today's issue... will be the last."[5] The Daily never published another issue, though the socialists soon launched the weekly Workers' World to fill the void.

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[3] A.M. Simons, "Brief History of the Chicago Socialist," Chicago Socialist, May 6 1905, p. 8.

[4] CDS, "This Paper is for Working Men and Women," Oct. 25 1906.

[5] Chicago Evening World, Dec. 4 1912, p. 1.

Chicago's working class had long published labor journals as part of efforts to develop and sustain its own cultural institutions and to encourage greater solidarity and class cohesion. In 1886 the Knights of Labor published a short-lived English-language daily, though it quickly retreated to weekly publication. Cook County's Socialist Party launched a four-page weekly paper, the Workers' Call (later Chicago Socialist), in 1899. Party members continued to developed often-detailed plans to resume a daily English-language paper for several years following the Daily Socialist's collapse, but were never able to secure the necessary resources.[6] And in 1918 the Chicago Federation of Labor--whose secretary in 1906 heralded the Daily Socialist's "fearlessness... [which could not] but meet with the approval of the working people of this city"--called for a labor party and a daily newspaper "published in the interests of all the workers...to expose the Trust Press and the vested interests they represent and to keep labor informed as to its welfare."[7]

Better established was Chicago's foreign-language labor press, supported by a rich array of working-class ethnic organizations and institutions. In 1906, when the Daily Socialist began publication, two other working-class dailies (and several weeklies) were published in Chicago: the German anarchist Arbeiter-Zeitung and the

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[6] See, for example, Minutes of the Cook County Delegate Committee for Dec. 26 1913, July 9 1917 and Feb. 6 1919. Cook County Socialist Party Papers, University of Illinois at Chicago.

[7] CDS, "Labor Union News," Nov. 22 1906, p. 2; John Fitzpatrick and E.N. Nockels, Letter to Chicago Federation of Labor locals, Nov. 20 1918. Fitzpatrick papers Box 7, Chicago Historical Society.

Czech socialist Spravedlnost. In 1907, the Daily Socialist reported that Chicago socialists published three dailies (in English, Czech and Polish), three weeklies (German, Danish and Slovak), a Hungarian-language semi-monthly, and three English-language socialist magazines--and that Chicago's Jewish socialists would soon be launching their own organ. "The socialist press," it argued, "is at once a test of activity and strength, a measure of propaganda done and of the power and the willingness of the Socialists to sacrifice and to work for their cause."[8]

The numbers and circulation of Chicago's foreign-language working-class publications continued to grow throughout the Daily's short life. And Chicago's labor unions published growing numbers of weekly and monthly journals, most in English but also including publications such as the Czech Typographical Union's Typograf or the Piano, Organ & Instrument Workers Official Journal which included columns in Italian, German and Swedish.[9]

The Largest Staff of Any Newspaper in the World

For most of its existence, the Daily Socialist prided itself on being a different kind of newspaper--a newspaper that not only represented and defended the interests of the working class, but which was financed, published, and often written by the workers themselves. Workers were invited not merely to promote the paper among their friends and coworkers, but to write for it as well.

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[8] CDS, "The Socialist Press of Chicago," June 15 1907, p. 4.

[9] Dirk Hoerder and Christianne Harzig, eds., The Immigrant Labor Press in North America (Westport, 1987); Jon Bekken, "Working Class Newspapers in Chicago, 1880-1930," Conference on Communications and Culture, 1989, Philadelphia.

In the very first number, the Daily announced that it would secure its news from a staff of 30,000 volunteer reader/ reporters. The announcement, the editors recalled, was

> greeted with derisive comments by the big capitalist dailies... Today the news brought in by its corps of volunteer correspondents has made the Daily Socialist the brightest and most original newspaper in the country...[10]

The paper received not only articles and letters, but also enough poetry "to fill almost the entire paper each day" and large packs of clippings with requests that rebuttals be published in the paper. Space, they explained, precluded using much of this material--suggesting that readers respond directly to the papers involved.[11]

The lead editorial in the February 8, 1907, edition offered "Suggestions to the Staff." Readers were urged to focus on news reports and to keep their contributions down to 200 words if at all possible. Even with the high prices enforced by the paper trust, the editors cajoled, paper remained cheap enough for contributors to leave ample margins on their submissions to facilitate editing. "The Daily Socialist has the largest staff of writers and helpers of any newspaper in the world," the editors concluded--its readers.[12] And they frequently offered to make their columns available to socialist and union locals:

> At all times, and during strikes particularly, the Daily Socialist invites labor unions to write their own copy

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[10] CDS, "A Call to the '30,000,'" Jan. 21 1908, p. 1.

[11] CDS, "Suggestions to Contributors," March 7 1908, p. 4.

[12] CDS, "Some Suggestions To The Staff," Feb. 8 1907, p. 4.

> and send it to the paper. It is published exactly as written. This does not apply to Chicago alone. Any labor union in any part of the country is invited to do the same.[13]

Yet Chicago socialists were often dissatisfied with the paper's editorial policies. Many socialists had opposed the new daily, fearing it would divert funds and attention from the election campaign and other party activities. But the party was persuaded to donate the weekly Socialist and its assets to the newly formed Workers' Publishing Society (a joint-stock co-operative established by the Daily's promoters to own and operate the paper) on the understanding that the party would control the paper. Soon afterwards, socialists

> discovered that they had been misled by juggled books and stock jobbing tactics that J.P. Morgan might have envied, [and] began a long and bitter battle to regain control of the newspaper property... The founders of the daily newspaper were somewhat less than candid in their maneuverings to establish the paper.[14]

In 1907, in the midst of a bitter battle for control over the Workers' Publishing Society, the Socialist Party's Cook County Executive Committee protested that "Since the establishment of the Daily... the entire connection between the State and County as far as its news and activity is concerned is practically at a standstill." A motion was approved demanding "an uncensored column for news of Party affairs. Same, if necessary, to be paid for at the regular rate."[15]

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[13] H.G. Creel, "The Hustlers' Column," CDS, Aug. 25 1909, p. 3. The comment was preceded by the news that Chicago Gas Fitters' Association Local 250 has bought a $100 CDS bond.

[14] Robert Huston, "A.M. Simons and the American Socialist Movement," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1965, p. 178. The Thomas Morgan papers (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) contain extensive documentation of the party's efforts to gain control of the paper, which ultimately resulted in a compromise in which a controlling block of WPS stock was set aside for the local Party, to be redeemed through purchase or the sale of subscriptions.

The Party had owned the weekly Chicago Socialist outright, selecting its editor by referendum vote, determined its business and editorial policies, and used the Socialist's columns to promote its various ventures. Even with most Workers' Publishing Society stock held by Party members and sympathizers, however, the Party could not exercise the same level of control it had been accustomed to. When Party officers solicited proxies from Workers' Publishing Society stockholders, the Daily at first refused to publish, later accepting the notice only as a paid advertisement. Party minutes and other official communications ran only at the discretion of the Daily's editors. At times, the Party found, they could not even rely on the Daily Socialist to accurately report its official positions.[16] When German-speaking socialist locals protested a

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[15] Cook County Executive Committee minutes, Aug. 31 1907, in Morgan papers, folder 54.

[16] Chicago Socialist, "Five Years Ago," Jan. 27 1904, p. 2. See, e.g., the report prepared by Cook County Party Secretary G.T. Fraenkel, which characterized the Daily's organization as a coup and insisted its organizers had stolen Party property. On Aug. 26, 1907, the Daily refused to publish the Party notice seeking nominations to serve on the WPS Board, following a referendum that voted 382 to 24 to nominate a full Board slate committed to taking control of the paper for the Party. Instead the WPS published its own call for proxies. On Sept. 16, 1907, the Party's Executive Committee protested the Daily's Page 1 report that the Party had instructed its members to vote against the Municipal Court Act Amendment when in fact the Party had made no recommendation, and denounced WPS President Seymour Steadman for speaking on a platform shared by Democrats at an anti-City Charter rally "in behalf of" the Party. The Daily was criticized for so publicizing the meeting. A copy of the report can be found in the Morgan Papers,

(continued...)

favorable reference to the anarchist daily Arbeiter-Zeitung (which, they argued, undercut the party's own Neues Leben), the party responded that it "has no control over the news, editorial or financial policy of the paper."[17]

Party efforts to gain control over the paper and its policy continued until the end, although relations improved dramatically when the Workers' Publishing Society increased the Party's ownership stake. (The dispute heated up again in 1912 when the Daily Socialist's management again struck out on its own.)

While the Socialist carried national and international news off the Scripps wire for much of its life--generally dispatches ran no more than a few hundred words, though some articles ran a half-column or more--it featured extensive local news. The emphasis was on labor and political news, though there was also a strong dose of often-sensationalist human-interest stories. The daily was launched with a serialized exposé of working conditions in local department stores and a 21-part argument against capital punishment by Clarence Darrow. Pages 1 and 2 were typically devoted to news; Page 3 included news, advertisements (which might also appear on Page 2), and features such as the sporadic women's

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[16] (...continued) folder 21.

The conflict was at its most heated in 1907, with Party ward organizations presenting resolutions calling for a complete boycott of the Daily, and the Workers' Publishing Society refusing to comply with Party instructions for the conduct of a Party-endorsed benefit, and insisting that all party advertising must be paid for. Correspondence, A.M. Simons to Central Committee, July 31 1907. In Morgan Papers, folder 54.

[17] Cook County Central Committee Minutes, Aug. 8 1907. In Morgan papers, folder 54.

column (which became a regular feature, running half a page or more, after 1908); Page 4 was reserved for editorials, commentary and short features such as a humor column or tables documenting the growing socialist vote around the world.

While most articles were quite brief, coverage of labor or socialist news could be quite extensive, particularly considering the paper's limited space. In May and June of 1907, for example, nearly one-third of the news hole was devoted to coverage of the trial and acquittal of Socialist Party and IWW leader 'Big Bill' Haywood. Interspersed amidst the articles were announcements of upcoming socialist and labor meetings, official party notices of various sorts, and exhortations to readers to redouble their efforts in support of the paper. With its short articles (largely drawn from the Scripps wire), mix of features and news items, and four-page format, the Daily seemed in many ways modelled on the Scripps chain of small, labor-oriented dailies.[18]

It was produced by an extremely small editorial staff. There were five paid editorial workers in 1907--including the cartoonist who doubled as a reporter. One of those reporters later recalled being fed stories by other newspapermen, by local unionists, and by party members. As a reporter, he worked closely with the party's rank-and-file, and witnessed firsthand the fervent support the Socialist received from both the immigrant and English-speaking radical communities.[19]

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[18] See Gerald Baldasty and Myron Jordan, "E.W. Scripps and the Newspaper Business: The Market Niche Strategy of Competition," Unpublished paper delivered to Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications, 1990. Michael and Edwin Emery (The Press and America, Englewood Cliffs, 1988, pp. 256-57) note "the papers were low-cost afternoon dailies that relied principally on circulation revenue... Scripps saved newsprint costs by insisting on small headlines and short, concisely edited stories.... In appearance and content they were closer to being 'labor papers' than any other general-circulation newspapers..."

The December 3, 1906, edition was perhaps typical of these early issues. The front page lambasted the coal trust, the Record-Herald (for advertisements boosting a stock swindle), anti-union "Open Shop" drives and court injunctions. Also on Page 1 were stories on local crime, the German Social Democratic Party, and other international news. Page 2 included a two-column fiction serial, a racist article protesting the hiring of Japanese workers in Hawaii, and articles on poor train service, labor and Socialist Party activities, and upcoming union meetings. Two columns advertised concerns ranging from Commonwealth Edison to Spravedlnost to local tailors and attorneys. Page 3 reported on violent struggles by southern farmers against the tobacco trust, an initiative by the Chicago Federation of Labor for better schools, congressional activity and assorted corporate scandals, with crime and human interest shorts to fill. Advertisements from the Socialist Party and Eagle Food filled a column. Page 4 featured a cartoon and editorials on tariffs, the need for socialism, Japanese capitalism, the Russian rebellion, and utilities. Later issues contained more advertisements, and features such as market reports, a women's column (which often lambasted traditional values, arguing that women's aspirations could best be met through socialism), and a column teaching

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[19] Reuben Borough, "The Chicago I Remember, 1907," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society 59(2), Summer 1986, pp. 117-30.

Esperanto.

In October 1907 the Socialist dropped its wire service to support a strike by telegraph operators. For the next two-and-a-half years (the paper resumed the United Press service in April 1910) the Daily relied on local reporters, correspondents from around the country (usually subscribers or Socialist Party activists) and exchanges for its news coverage. This reinforced a distinctive approach to news coverage, as the paper could not hope to compete for timely accounts of national and world events (especially as correspondents were directed to use the mails to save telegraph charges). Instead, the paper focused on stories (especially labor and socialist news) ignored or misreported by their competitors, and on editorial commentary and analysis.

Such a strategy enabled the editors to concentrate their limited resources, though it implicitly accepted the Daily Socialist's status as a second, supplementary newspaper. (In March 1907 the editors had recognized that their readers took two evening papers, but argued that they should consider the Daily their primary paper.)[20] It was in these years--forced by the lack of a wire service to rely upon local news, correspondents and reprints from other labor and socialist papers if it was to be anything more than a stale rehash of the prior day's news--that the Daily Socialist established itself as pre-eminently a labor paper, and during which it succeeded in building up its local circulation. Significantly, when editor Algie Simons resigned under fire in

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[20] Robert Huston, op cit., pp. 188-90; CDS, "No Apologies Needed," op cit.

August 1910, he was succeeded by the paper's labor editor, J.L. Engdahl. (Engdahl stepped down several months later, but was called upon to edit the weekly Chicago Socialist from December 1917 until February 1919, when he was forced to resign by his conviction on federal charges of disrupting the war effort.[21])

By 1909, the paper featured a cleaner makeup and published six-page issues twice a week. A typical six-page weekend edition featured reports on state and local politics, economic trends, anti-labor repression in Russia, Canadian conservation efforts, labor news, and the follies of the rich ("Play Servants Just For Fun"). Inside pages reported local and labor news, human interest shorts (with special attention to the foibles and crimes of the rich), exploitation and repression of labor and socialist movements around the world, and notices for socialist and labor meetings. A sports column had been added, and two-thirds of Page 5 was devoted to the Women's Page (including an exposé of prison conditions, moralistic fiction, an article on the need for women to emancipate themselves, and a daily pattern sold through the paper's offices). The final page was devoted to editorials, most of which were devoted to socialist and labor campaigns.[22] The more frequent four-page editions had a similar mix of copy, but fewer advertisements, and features such as the sports, business and women's columns were compressed to fit the available space.

A muckraking crusade launched that year against Chicago corruption and vice drew criticism from many socialists as a waste of energy and a diversion from the class struggle--and temporary embarrassment when the paper's sources declined to go public to prove the charges (prosecutors, however, brought charges a few months later).[23] But this muckraking phase proved short-lived (though the paper continued to carry occasional reports on government and corporate corruption until the end), and the Daily Socialist soon redoubled its efforts to become the city's de facto labor organ.

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[21] Robert Huston, op cit.; Cook County Executive Committee Minutes, Dec. 14 1917 and Feb. 21 1919.

[22] CDS, Jan. 2 1909, national edition.

When the Chicago Federation of Labor repudiated its hitherto-official organ, the Union Labor Advocate, "for accepting advertising from our enemies," the Daily Socialist sought to replace it. The Federation adopted a resolution offered by Painters Union #194 "thanking the Chicago Daily Socialist for its attitude towards and support of trade unions during strikes," but declined its offer to serve as the CFL's official organ. The Federation decided instead to issue its minutes in pamphlet form. Nonetheless, the paper carried several columns of local and national labor news daily, and listings of all local union meetings.

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[23] Robert Huston, op cit.; Charles Kerr, Editorial, International Socialist Review 10(1), July 1909, pp. 67-68. An example ran on June 30 1909, under a headline that ran three lines deep across the entire front page: "Chicago Ruled By Band of Criminals; Busse Is At Head of Most Notorious Clique That Ever Pilfered a City." The editors explained, the next day, that they had "no desire to parade the filth of the city government of Chicago before [their] readers... But today these things have become a vital part of the great evils against which we are fighting. They have become the bulwark of privilege and one of the instruments of class war and exploitation." CDS, "Speak Out The Truth," July 1 1909, p. 1.

And while many unions were reluctant to become too closely associated with a socialist paper, others (such as the United Mine Workers) became ardent supporters, sinking several thousand dollars into the paper.[24] By August 1909, some 20 Chicago union locals had purchased Workers' Publishing Society stock and bonds (with Painters Local 194 alone holding $700 in stock), and the paper proudly announced each addition to their ranks.[25] This support broadened during the 1912 newspaper lockout, and the Federation issued (over substantial opposition) a voluntary assessment to aid the Daily World (as the Daily was then called) in recognition of

> the firm stance it has always taken against organized capital, and... [as] the only newspaper of like circulation in Chicago that is worthy or has any claim to the confidence of organized labor...[26]

Yet even in the midst of this struggle, the paper was never fully able to overcome the mutual distrust between the Socialist Party and Chicago's labor movement.

While more radical union locals endorsed the Daily Socialist and bought shares in the Workers' Publishing Society, the paper drew frequent criticism from Chicago Federation of Labor officials-

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[24] Robert Huston, op cit.; Chicago Federation of Labor Minutes April 3 1909, Nov. 6 1910, Nov. 20 1910, Feb. 19 1911, Oct. 6 1912 (Chicago Historical Society--I am indebted to Steve Sapolsky for calling these to my attention). Despite declining to make the Daily Socialist its official organ, the CFL urged the daily to cease publishing articles on the unaffiliated Cigar Makers' Progressive Union (Minutes, March 19 1911).

[25] A.W. Mance, "Union Labor and the Press," CDS, Aug. 6 1909, p. 4.

[26] CFL Minutes, July 21 1912, pp 26-27.

-especially for its opposition to the CFL's political stance.[27] The Daily drew criticism, too, from many socialists--among them Eugene V. Debs, who condemned the paper for catering to "spineless and treacherous craft union leaders[,]... crooks, grafters, and misleaders, who are a curse to the movement." This policy, Debs argued, damaged the socialist and labor movements equally. Instead the paper should appeal to "the rank and file... but not by catering to their corrupt and reactionary leaders. I am for fighting every battle of the trade unions, the rank and file, from start to finish, always holding before them, however, the ideal of industrial unionism." Otherwise the Daily would be associated with the treacheries of the union misleaders in the public eye, and would forfeit an invaluable opportunity to build the socialist cause.[28]

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[27] See, e.g., CDS, "Hearst in New Bid for Labor," Aug. 13 1908, p. 2; CDS, "Socialists Are Trounced Hard," Oct. 7 1908, p. 2, which quoted CFL President John Fitzpatrick: "Organized labor has saved the workingman from ruin, and now you socialists step in and try to tear it down"; CDS, "Socialists are Trounced Again," Oct. 10 1908, p. 3; CDS, "Labor Ticket Proved Unfair," June 7 1909, p. 2; CDS, "J. Fitzpatrick Denies Story," May 26 1910, p. 1.

If relations were strained even with Chicago's dominant union progressives, conservatives, entrenched in the Building Trades Council, were relentlessly hostile. See, e.g., Examiner, Oct. 15 1912, "World Denounced by Labor Leaders." (clipping in Morgan papers, folder 63)

[28] E.V. Debs, "The Chicago Movement," CDS, Sept. 8 1911; see also: E.V. Debs, "What's Wrong With Chicago," CDS Aug. 22 1911. Two days before "The Chicago Movement" ran, Debs wrote the Daily's editor: "Please return the MS... mailed to you nearly two weeks ago. I do not now wish it published in the Daily Socialist... I would prefer not to have it appear at all but there are some matters of party interest involved which make it necessary for me to have the article published elsewhere, and this I shall do with an explanatory note attached to it.... You have simply suppressed the article. You held up my previous article ["What's Wrong With

(continued...)

"Starting a paper is easy compared with keeping it going"[29]

Resources, or more specifically their absence, lie at the heart of the Chicago Daily Socialist's story. The paper was launched from the offices of the weekly Chicago Socialist with virtually no operating capital, less organization (hundreds of subscribers went without their papers in the initial weeks), and without a plant of its own. An effort to launch a socialist daily had collapsed the previous year because the necessary funds could not be raised.[30] And the Chicago newspaper market was already saturated with English-language dailies (several of which collapsed in the next few years, though Scripps entered the market in 1911 with the Day Book).

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[28] (...continued)
Chicago"] for a considerable time and when you finally allowed it to appear you were particular to see to it that your wordy attempt to answer it appeared in the very same issue..." Sept. 6 1911, in: J. Robert Constantine, ed., Letters of Eugene V. Debs, Urbana 1990, volume I p. 428.

See, also, E.V. Debs, "Socialist Papers and the Labor Unions," Chicago Socialist, Feb. 3 1906, p. 4. Debs argues that "Strictly speaking, the Socialist Party has no press. The papers published in the interests of the Socialist party are owned by party members... and they are not necessarily the exponents of party policy." Most these papers opposed the Industrial Workers of the World, he argued, "because a majority of their union labor subscribers belong to the American Federation of Labor."

[29] A.M. Simons, "Brief History of the Chicago Socialist," op cit.

[30] Chicago Socialist, "A Socialist Daily Paper," Dec. 3 1904, p. 1. The plan, endorsed by the Cook County Central Committee, was to raise $30,000 in capital by selling shares and to begin publishing the Daily Socialist Times when 25,000 subscribers were secured. See, also, "Western Socialist Newspaper Company," Dec. 10 1904' "For a Socialist Daily," Nov. 19 1904, p. 1; "Why Incorporate?" Feb. 10 1906, p. 1. The latter concluded that "The move that was made a year ago looking toward a daily paper was premature" although 300 shares were subscribed (but only partially paid for) at $10 a share.

Begun as a two-week campaign daily, the possibility of continued publication was discussed even before the first issue hit the streets. "This Paper Will Be Made Permanent" proclaimed a November 1 headline, over an appeal to readers to secure 20,000 new subscribers.

> It will be the first permanent daily Socialist newspaper in the English-speaking world... fight[ing] for the working people, so that each day they may have a little more of the things to which they are entitled, until finally the day of liberation comes....
>
> This paper owes its existence to the working class. They are its readers, its solicitors, and, to a large extent, its staff. It is for them to say, by their interest and their work, what it will do.[31]

With the decision to sustain daily publication (except on Sundays), a campaign was launched to raise $50,000 in operating capital by selling shares of stock in the Workers' Publishing Society at $10 each. For months to come, scarcely a week went by without urgent appeals to readers to increase circulation, to cover the operating deficit, to patronize advertisers and thus help sell advertising, and to lend the paper funds to purchase its own printing plant. A financial statement published on the Daily's first 23 weeks of operations put the loss to date at $16,211.23, with advertising accounting for just 19 percent of operating income.[32] By the Daily's ninth month $75,000 had been raised and spent, but another $7,000 was urgently needed to continue publication. Financial crisis followed financial crisis at frequent intervals throughout the Daily's life.[33]

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[31] CDS, "This Paper Will Be Continued," Nov. 2 1906, p. 4; CDS, "This Paper Will Be Made Permanent," Nov. 1 1906, p. 1; Algie Simons, "Starting a Daily Socialist Paper," International Socialist Review 7(6), Dec. 1906, pp. 328-30.

[32] CDS, "The Story of the Daily Socialist," op cit.

The editors pinned their hopes on increased circulation, hoping that it would result both in immediate income and in increased advertising sales down the road. Frequent appeals continued to call upon readers to sell subscriptions, buy stock or lend money to meet the paper's pressing debts--regularly followed by articles thanking them for their heroic efforts, though one chided Chicago-area socialists for falling behind their comrades in the rest of the country.[34] Subscription contests offered incentives ranging from socialist books (donated by the Charles Kerr company) to gold pocket watches to readers selling the most subscriptions.[35] The party's Bohemian daily Spravedlnost contributed funds to and advertised in the Daily Socialist, as did other foreign-language branches.[36]

Given the Daily Socialist's inability to meet expenses through advertising sales, even when its circulation was larger than that of all other Chicago newspapers combined, the Socialist Party relied upon subscriptions, loans, stock sales, donations, and fundraisers to sustain the paper.[37] This ensured, at best, a precarious existence. On October 22 of 1907, three days short of the Daily's first anniversary, a Page 1 cartoon asked "Shall the Chicago Daily Socialist continue publication?" Six weeks before, the editors had announced a drive to increase circulation to 100,000 copies--a goal that eluded them for another four-and-a-half years.[38]

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[33] See, e.g., CDS,"What Shall Be Done?" July 8 1907, p. 4, and Chicago Evening World, "A Statement About the Prospects of This Paper," Sept. 10 1912. Many socialists criticized the venture from the start. Thomas Morgan, for example, wrote the Workers Publishing Society's (the corporation established to publish the CDS) secretary, cautioning that "enthusiasm is a dangerous element, as it prevents efforts to proceed with care and ascertain all the facts..." tending to undermine party control and financial collapse. Dec. 13 1906, in Thomas J. Morgan papers, University of Illinois, folder 53.

[34] CDS, "Shame on Chicago Socialists," Jan. 5 1907, p. 1; "How Battle Was Fought and Won," Feb. 11 1907, p. 1.

[35] CDS, July 10 and 15, 1907.

[36] e.g., CDS, Dec. 3 1906, p. 2; Spravedlnost was among shareholders listed in the CDS Jan. 5 1907, p. 4.

Despite generous support from local and national socialists, the Daily Socialist lost huge sums of money. Robert Huston has calculated the deficits for the first four years at $42,000 for 1906-07, the first year of publication; $20,000 for 1907-08; $16,000 for 1908-09; and $14,000 for 1909-10. (Figures are not available for the Daily's final two years, though the losses were certainly very much higher in 1912.) These estimates are for losses on operations, most of which were covered by sales of capital stock and bonds (which were treated as operating income). By late 1910 the Workers' Publishing Society owed $55,000 in bonds, and had $40,000 invested in its stock, on assets of $40,000. Only the fact that the bulk of this debt was owed to party members kept the paper afloat.

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[37] Among them an annual picnic held at Riverview Park to benefit the socialist press. The 1909 picnic featured a wrestling match refereed by the Daily's sports editor, a pie eating contest, short plays and sketches by members of the Actors Union, performances by a German comedian and the German Workingmen's Singing Society, a one-man band, races, weight lifters, a dancing pavilion, and impromptu socialist speeches. CDS, "Vast Crowds At That Picnic," June 29 1909, p. 3; CDS, "Picnic Crowd is 3,000 Strong," Sept. 8 1909, p. 2.

[38] CDS, "Hustlers' Column," Sept. 9 1907, p. 2.

"Financially," Huston concludes, "the Chicago Daily Socialist was a disastrous undertaking."

> It invaded a market that was saturated with ten other dailies, several of which collapsed during this period. The lack of working capital starved its editorial efforts and distorted the editorial objectives.... That the paper endured as long as it did is a tribute to the perseverance and loyalty of those associated with publishing it...[39]

In their enthusiasm, Daily backers overstated income and circulation figures, inflated the value of the paper's assets, and repeatedly promised that if the paper could just be survive the immediate crisis it soon would pay its own way.

In the absence of reliable information about the daily's finances, rumors proliferated. Among them, in the Daily's early weeks, was a rumor that it had been financed by a handful of wealthy individuals who controlled editorial policy. The editors denounced this as "a flat-footed lie." The Daily Socialist was accountable only to the working class, and ninety-five percent of the stock of the parent Workers' Publishing Society was held by Socialist Party members and chapters.[40]

A few months later, the accounts for the paper's first twenty-three weeks were published. The Daily was broke. "Unless there is an immediate increase in the working capital of this paper, its whole future usefulness will be handicapped, future progress will be impossible, and its very continuous existence will be jeopardized." The paper was running a deficit of $93 per day (though this was much less than the initial losses). Circulation and advertising revenues were growing rapidly, the paper was printing two editions daily (national and local), and a printing plant had been purchased and installed. It depended on a handful of Party members for survival. Gaylord Wilshire, the "millionaire socialist," held $4,000 of nearly $22,000 in loans issued to purchase the paper's printing plant. Five others held $6,500 in loans, with the balance held by 120 unnamed socialists.

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[39] Robert Huston, op cit., p. 187.

[40] See, e.g., CDS, "What Shall Be Done?" July 8 1907, p. 4; CDS, "Rally to Your Press," March 31 1908, p. 4; CDS, "A Personal Letter to Every Worker," Feb. 17 1909, p. 6; Evening World, "A Statement About The Prospects of This Paper," Sept. 10 1912; CDS, "No Truth In It," Dec. 10 1906, p. 4.

An audit of the Workers' Publishing Society books demanded by the Socialist Party's Executive Committee painted a bleak picture. The entire $25,000 raised through the sale of the Society's stock had been spent to cover operating deficits, and the paper had some $18,000 in unsecured loans and bills. The Daily's plant had been bought for $23,850.58, but was carried on the books at $45,929.55. And despite the Daily Socialist's claim that its circulation was larger than the Evening Post and the Chronicle combined, actual circulation was but 20,000 copies--12,000 of which were distributed outside Chicago.[41]

By September 1907, circulation had grown to 30,000 copies daily, half of which was outside the Chicago area. The market-leading Chicago Daily News, though, had a 1907 circulation of

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[41] CDS, "The Story of the Daily Socialist," April 13 1907, p. 4; Auditor's report, in Morgan papers, folder 21.

300,000 copies. The Socialist Party's audit committee, which was refused access to the Workers' Publishing Society books, reported in November 1908 that the Daily Socialist circulated 10,000 copies in the city, and 21,000 copies in the rest of the country.[42] Local circulation gradually increased after this rocky start, accounting for the bulk of circulation by 1910. But total circulation remained about the same as national readers switched to the party's new (and larger and closer to home) New York and Milwaukee dailies.

Mounting deficits ensured that the Daily Socialist would remain a four-page paper, with occasional larger special issues. Making a virtue of necessity, the Socialist heralded the superiority of the "live" four-page paper over the "big, clumsy, and heavy" newspapers published by their capitalistic adversaries.[43] A reader agreed: "I take up a blanket newspaper with a feeling that capitalism is needlessly sacrificing our forests to the insane waste of modern advertising."[44]

The Daily Socialist maintained that, despite its size, it offered better value to readers--contrasting its March 15, 1907, edition to that of the Daily News, "one of the largest evening papers in the world." The News, they announced, published 86 different news stories, exclusive of sports and financial news (neither of which ran in the Daily Socialist); the Daily published 98. The News did run longer stories and more column inches of news (most articles in the Daily Socialist ran only a couple of paragraphs), it conceded, but the News' articles were "rendered valueless because it is published by a millionaire determined to preserve the conditions which made him rich." The four-page paper, the editors proclaimed, was the paper of the future--even enlightened capitalists such as the Scripps-McRae chain recognized its superiority.[45]

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[42] Robert Huston, op cit., p. 181; Executive Committee, Local Cook County, Report, Nov. 20 1908, in Thomas Morgan papers, box 35; CDS, "Our Balance Sheet," June 27 1908, p. 3. The latter noted "at first sight there is much that is discouraging about this report," and conceded that assets had been revalued to reflect catalog prices for new equipment even though the press and plant were in fact purchased used.

[43] CDS, "No Apologies Needed," March 19 1907, p. 4; A.M. Simons, "Starting a Daily Socialist Paper," op cit.

[44] Henry Allen, "Four Pages Enough," CDS, April 5 1907, p. 4.

The Daily Socialist remained a thin paper throughout its life, usually publishing only four to six pages. Even at the peak of its circulation, it never printed more than 12 pages--and often published but six pages of cramped type. Through frequent and often desperate pleas for increased financial support the Daily Socialist was able to maintain uninterrupted, if often tenuous, publication for its first four-and-a-half years. But publication had to be briefly suspended for lack of funds in the summer of 1911, and again in the Spring of 1912.[46]

Advertising and a Socialist Press

At first, six of the Daily's 28 columns were typically devoted to advertising (often even less), much of it from local Socialists and publishers of socialist literature. The paper began with ads from clothing stores and socialist publishers, and classifieds for the same local lawyers, shoe repairmen, cigar stores and bakeries who had backed the weekly for years. The business department faced "the impossible task of either procuring advertising for a newspaper that was hostile to the advertisers it solicited or else balancing the books with the income from a penny paper." Daily Socialist management tried to assuage the doubts of readers who viewed advertising as symptomatic of capitalist waste through articles explaining the economics of the newspaper industry and items such as a house ad proclaiming "Only an Ad Reader can Wisely Manage Household Finances... The Merchant who Advertises is Working for You!"[47]

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[45] "No Apologies Needed," op cit.

[46] Publishers Weekly, June 17 1911, p. 2366; Chicago Record-Herald, April 30 1912, p. 5.

Although the paper eventually secured some major accounts--most notably local utilities seeking greater consumption from working-class households--it was never able to sell advertisements to the department stores or other firms that were the financial mainstay of its many competitors.[48] Yet the Daily continued to believe that "one of the main sources of income of any daily paper must be its advertising."[49]

Advertising remained problematic for the next six years, both because of the difficulty of securing advertising dollars from capitalist firms and because of the contradictions between the commercial imperatives facing the paper and its socialist ideology. The Daily Socialist's third issue explained that other newspapers dared not expose the truth about the firms that dominated commerce and industry because they depended upon advertising for their financial prosperity.[50] Five weeks later, the editors warned--in the course of an exposé on fraudulent advertisements--that:

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[47] CDS, March 19 1910, p. 12.

[48] Robert Huston, op cit., p. 180.

[49] CDS, "The Hustler's Column," April 8 1907, p. 1.

> The Chicago Daily Socialist will publish almost any "fake" advertisements... This paper must compete with the capitalist dailies, and to live must be almost as immoral in its business department as the Daily News. There is only one excuse for this policy, and that is the desire of the Socialist party to show to the working class that anarchy in the distribution of wealth is a crime, and point out a better method...[51]

This marked a radical departure from the policy governing its weekly predecessor. In 1904, Chicago Socialist Business Manager A.S. Edwards had explained that the paper was "excluded from sharing in the enormous and wasteful expenditures for advertising which provide ample funds for publications supporting the capitalist system."[52] A few months later, a new Business Manager boasted of increased advertising and circulation. But,

> Comrades will notice that... we are not taking in any misleading advertisements, no matter what price is offered... A Socialist paper must never allow a faker to use its columns for his own selfish purposes. Any comrade who knows or finds out anything detrimental about any of our advertisers may at once inform the manager and it will be investigated, and if found true steps will be taken to cancel the contract.[53]

At that time advertising columns were dominated by local small businessmen (dry goods, tailors, shoe stores, lawyers, etc.), and by Socialist organizations and publishers.

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[50] CDS, "Talks With Our Readers," October 27 1906, p. 4.

[51] CDS, "Medical Fraud in the Daily News," Dec. 5 1906, p. 1.

[52] A.S. Edwards, "The Business Desk," Chicago Socialist, Oct. 15 1904, p. 2.

[53] A. Elsemann, "Managers Column," Chicago Socialist, Jan. 28 1905, p. 2.

The Daily, too, relied on these sorts of advertisers. But it also accepted advertisements such as one for Oxydonor promising to cure "all manner of diseases with oxygen from the air."[54] Advertisements for patent medicines, get-rich-quick schemes and land speculators coexisted uneasily with Socialist propaganda and notices throughout the paper's tumultuous history.

Veteran Chicago socialist Thomas Morgan devoted much of his weekly Provoker to denunciations of the Daily Socialist's advertising columns, warning "comrades against being led to ruin" by these "lying advertisements." The party's National Committee, Morgan insisted, "has officially condemned all of this kind of advertising, by which the 'exploitation' and 'grafting' upon comrades is carried out in the party."[55] In 1908 the Daily Socialist banned mining stock ads, it eliminated advertisements for speculative schemes in 1910, when Morgan was elected to the Workers' Publishing Society board of directors for a one-year term.[56] Despite his vigorous objections the Daily Socialist

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[54] CDS, Feb. 16 1907, p. 2.

[55] T.J. Morgan, "Lying Advertisements in Socialist Papers," The Provoker, Feb. 24 1910, pp. 1-2. See, also, The Provoker for Oct. 14, 1909 and Feb. 3 1910. In an article in the latter, "Private 'Enterprise' in the Party," Morgan asserted that such practices, and the lack of party control over its press, "makes Socialist denunciation of Capitalist graft and corruption a farce."

[56] Morgan remained highly critical of the Daily's management, however, frequently protesting the workings of the Board on the grounds that he was excluded from information and decision-making as a minority member. In an undated letter to his fellow Board

(continued...)

continued selling ads to medical charlatans until the end. Yet the Daily's management maintained that it had lost thousands in potential revenue because it refused scab cigar and clothing advertisements and ads "of such a nature as might impose on the credulity of its readers."[57]

Advertising policies remained controversial even after the Daily's demise. In May 1913, the party's 12th Ward condemned the successor Workers World for carrying too much advertising.[58] In 1914, the Executive Committee ordered the paper to stop advertising a lecture by Emma Goldman on the grounds that "our Party organ should not be used to further the interests of these two professional Anarchists."[59] In 1917, socialists protested advertisements for anti-labor firms and government bonds--and the party directed the editor to oppose the bond issue.[60]

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[56] (...continued)
members, Morgan demanded reforms in financial reporting and that the Board meetings be held in a Party hall "so that all comrades interested may be present and hear its deliberations." Morgan papers, folder 23.

[57] Robert Huston, op cit., p. 184; CDS, "Daily Socialist Board of Directors Outline Future and Ask Your Aid," Dec. 19 1910; Thomas Morgan, "Simons Was Fired," The Provoker, Sept. 15 1910, pp. 1-2; Thomas Morgan, "The Daily Socialists Doctors' Advertisements," The Provoker, Oct. 6 1910, p. 1. When the paper persuaded two banks to advertise, Morgan argued the ads suggested "either that these banking corporations are being converted to socialism... or that its... agitation is so 'safe and sane' as to be worthy of the support of the Chicago Bankers. Which?" The Provoker, "The Daily and the Bankers," April 7 1910, p. 4.

[58] Cook County Executive Committee Minutes, May 2 and May 16 1913. Cook County Socialist Party Papers, University of Illinois at Chicago.

[59] Executive Committee Minutes, April 8 1914, pp. 3-4.

[60] Executive Committee Minutes, July 6, Aug. 7, Oct. 12 1917.

The *Daily Socialist* always had difficulty securing advertising. Successive Business Managers exhorted readers to patronize the paper's advertisers, and to let them know why they had gotten the business. In 1909 a "Daily Socialist Purchasers' League" was organized, members of which pledged to patronize only those firms that advertised in the paper. Although advertising had increased from earlier levels (still nearly all from Socialists or from small businessmen dependent upon working-class customers)--reaching as much as 30 columns of advertising in some weekend editions--keeping such a pledge would have posed serious difficulties for those whose purchases were not limited to Socialist literature.[61] The next year, 43,000 supporters were enrolled in a program whereby advertising merchants recorded purchases in a booklet redeemable for 75 cents (or a socialist book) for every $20 spent with the *Daily*'s advertisers.[62]

Even during the newspaper strike of 1912, which for several weeks essentially shut down all Chicago newspapers except the Scripps-McRae *Day Book* and the *Daily* (now the *Daily/Evening World*), advertisers proved reluctant to patronize the paper. (The *Day Book* did not carry advertising and had a circulation of only a few thousand copies.[63]) Only a handful of advertisers broke ranks when the *Daily*'s circulation increased from 40,000 to 300,000 copies daily including its new morning edition), dwarfing its strike-bound competitors.[64] While circulation was not sustained at that level, the Daily Socialist did maintain a substantial circulation throughout its final months.

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[61] *CDS*, "Daily Socialist Purchasers' League," Jan. 2 1909, p. 4.

[62] *CDS*, "Over 43,000 Using Purchasing Books to Help Newspaper," March 4 1910, p. 3.

[63] Oliver Knight, "Scripps and His Adless Newspaper, *The Day Book*," *Journalism Quarterly* 41(1), 1964, pp. 57-8.

Expansion and Collapse

When the Chicago newspaper trust locked out union pressmen in May 1912, and other newspaper workers struck in sympathy, the Daily had just emerged from its second suspension. With its competitors completely out of the field,

> the World [the Daily's new title] had the whole territory formerly occupied by the big metropolitan papers all to itself... The equipment was inadequate for this temporary condition, but the little press was set in motion and was grinding out about 300,000 papers every twenty-four hours. For over one month this little giant kept pouring forth this enormous edition....[65]

For the first time in its life, the paper actually cleared a surplus on operations for May and June 1912. But the plant and staff were unable to handle the dramatically increased workload, and the paper embarked upon what many in the Socialist Party believed was a reckless expansion campaign.

Neither the Workers' Publishing Society nor the Socialist Party had the resources to finance this expansion. Instead the paper turned to the Pressmen's Union for a loan of $60,000 to purchase new presses and meet increased running expenses. A morning edition was launched, a sports page added (part of a general increase in pages), and more than 100 people added to the originally quite small editorial and business staff. With circulation at a combined 300,000 copies daily--100,000 for the two-cent morning paper; 200,000 for the one-cent Evening World--paper bills alone increased from $500 to $6500 weekly. In July the Socialist Party's Delegate Committee ordered retrenchment. Control rested in the hands of the directors of the Workers' Publishing Society, however, who continued to pursue what they saw as an unparalleled opportunity to establish the World as a bona-fide newspaper able to hold its own against any capitalist daily in the Chicago market.[66]

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[64] The Daily's circulation was so widespread that Chicago Typographical Union 16, which was crossing picket lines to print the Trust dailies, reported that "a great number of members of No. 16 are reading the Daily World to the exclusion of all other papers..." blasting the paper for refusing to publish its side to the conflict. "Statement of Typographical 16," June 2 1912, Chicago: CTU. In Fitzpatrick papers, Box 1.

[65] J.O. Bentall, "Who Killed the Chicago Daily World?," International Socialist Review 13(7), Jan. 1913, pp. 557-58.

Increased circulation and advertising revenue covered some of the higher operating costs, but still the Daily lost money on every copy sold. Increased press runs served only to magnify the extent of the losses. The Socialist Party's national Monthly Bulletin noted that far from making the paper prosperous, "the increased circulation has enormously multiplied the expenses."[67] The next month the Daily went public with the paper's worsening economic plight (they had kept silent for fear of weakening the newspaper strike) with a plea for funds.[68]

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[66] Philip Taft, "The Limits of Labor Unity: The Chicago Newspaper Strike of 1912," Labor History 19(1), 1978, pp. 111-12; J.O. Bentall, op cit.; Chicago Socialist, "Trying to Sell the Socialist Party," November 1912, pp. 1-2; Chicago Evening World, Aug. 17 1912.

[67] August 1912. Morgan papers, folder 61. The newspaper strike seems to have forestalled what party left-wingers believed would be a successful campaign to take control of the Daily. See, e.g., Charles H. Kerr to Robert Howe (Chairman of Morgan's Socialist Educational League), May 23 1912: "Bentall burnt his bridges behind him at the Convention... I believe that the rank and file are becoming thoroughly disgusted with the Daily machine, and that when (continued...)

In the meantime, the directors had turned to a business syndicate headed by attorney Henry Blum (who later served as counsel to the Chicago Association of Credit Men) and to local bankers to raise much-needed operating capital; pledging Society stock, bills receivable, and the paper's printing plant as collateral. By September, the syndicate held $45,000 in loans and insisted on a change of management. Even before the lockout, E. Val Putnam had been hired from the Hearst organization to serve as managing editor. Former Tribune business manager Harrison Parker was now hired to manage the paper, and professional newspapermen soon took charge of the other departments.[69] The paper remained

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[67] (...continued) the present strike is over things will begin to happen." Morgan papers, folder 61. Bentall broke with Daily management, opposing a proposal to sell advertising space to capitalist candidates in the November 1912 elections and vigorously denouncing extravagant expenditures during the strike.

[68] Evening World, "A Statement About The Prospects of This Paper," Sept. 10 1912.

[69] J.O. Bentall, op cit.; for an account contradicting Bentall in many respects, see "Another Chapter in Chicago Strikes," The Typographical Journal, Jan. 1913, pp. 17-18; Henry Blum, Commercial Arbitrations (A Proposed Act), Chicago: Chicago Association of Credit Men, 1917.

Harrison Parker was a controversial figure in Chicago's labor movement. Parker worked for the Hearst organization and several magazines in their business departments from 1898 to 1909, when he became Business Manager of the Chicago Tribune. After a brief stint as head of the Stack-Parker advertising agency, he was hired by the Workers' Publishing Society in October, 1912. After the Daily World went bankrupt, Parker became president of Hearst's Evening American Publishing Company. He went on to form the Co-operative Society (continued...)

editorially closely allied to the labor movement, but increasingly filled its columns with sensationalist and human-interest items. And in November 1912 Morgan's independent Chicago Socialist charged that the Daily had fallen under the control of Democractic Party boss Roger Sullivan, who was using the paper in his battle against Hearst's influence in the party.[70]

In addition to its desperate efforts to raise funds,[71] the

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[69] (...continued)
of America, which attracted 200,000 members (mostly workers attracted by promises that they could save on groceries while building an alternative to capitalist economic institutions) at its peak, before being found guilty of stock fraud and placed in receivership. The Chicago Federation of Labor called Parker the "wily shark in the Hearst building," and eagerly exposed his history of promotions and frauds. See, e.g., "Unionists Expose H.M. Parker," April 2 1921, p. 6; "Parker's Fake Co-op in Receiver's Hands," Oct. 15 1921, p. 2; Dorothy Watson, "Fake Co-operatives Exposed," Oct. 30 1920, p. 8; "Harrison Parker's Store is Portable," Dec. 18 1920, p. 1; all in The New Majority.

[70] Chicago Socialist, "Trying to Sell the Socialist Party." Morgan charged that $102,000 in WPS stock had been illegally transferred to outside capitalists to raise funds, and that the paper was $195,000 in debt. The Typographical Journal quoted an unnamed Chicago daily report that the WPS board had turned "to a once powerful democratic politician who secured an influential share of the paper's policy," concluding that the World "spoke for the crooked democratic politicians and every foe of good government." "Another Chapter in Chicago Strikes," January 1913, p. 18.

Roger Sullivan was boss of the Democratic party until his death in 1920, though opposed by the Carter Harrison and Edward Dunne organizations. In 1912 his hold on both the local and state parties was endangered as Harrison was mayor and Dunne was governor--giving both control over extensive patronage. (Dunne, in particular, had long been backed by Hearst.) By 1914 Sullivan was strong enough to gain the party's nomination for the U.S. Senate, "after 1916 Sullivan all but reigned supreme in the Democratic party." Alex Gottfried, Boss Cermak of Chicago, Seattle 1962, pp. 122-23.

[71] Business Manager Peter Boulthouse issued a circular to WPS bondholders (dated Oct. 26 1912) proclaiming, "Out of the chaos of a bitter sic months newspaper and labor war, the Chicago Evening World emerges triumphant--towering serenely above the smoke and din
(continued...)

Workers' Publishing Society board cut expenses and returned to a four- to six-page paper. Yet the World had accumulated more than $125,000 in debts (excluding the value of its stock) by December 1912, much of it attributable to the strike-related expansion (but also including the debts built up over the previous five years of operations), and was unable to meet $33,000 in long-term bonds--nearly all held by socialists. The party rejected a proposal to sell control to the syndicate, arguing that

> If these non-socialist capitalists are given control of the party daily... there is no limit to which they may not go in corrupting the socialist organization.

Instead its bondholders' trustee was directed to initiate bankruptcy proceedings.[72] Ironically, the paper went under just weeks after the Socialist Party scored one of its most impressive local election campaigns ever, doubling its 1908 vote.[73]

The Workers' Publishing Society forged ahead with efforts to raise $150,000 to relaunch the World but raised only a few hundred dollars from the demoralized comrades.[74] Five months later, the

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[71] (...continued)
of battle with a circulation of over two hundred thousand copies a day." Only two obstacles remained--the need for new equipment (though the entire pressroom had been replaced during the strike) and the expiring bond issue. Boulthouse asked bondholders to roll their bonds over into a new, larger, issue or to tender them as a donation. Morgan papers, folder 63.

[72] Evening World, Dec. 4 1912, p. 1; Chicago Socialist, "Trying to Sell..."; The Typographical Journal, op cit.; Bentall, op cit. The Chicago Socialist reported that Wm. Bross Lloyd, who held $8,000 in loans, urged foreclosure to protect the party's good name, even though his investment would surely be lost.

[73] Chicago Record-Herald, Nov. 7 1912, page 4.

[74] J.O. Bentall, op cit.; Robert Huston, op cit.

Party was still struggling to settle accounts and to cover the daily's unpaid wages.[75]

Conclusions

Writing in September of 1910 to one of the Daily's financial backers, Thomas Morgan argued:

> The first essential of success is to make the Daily an indispensable means of communication between the socialist and labor organizations and their individual members...[76]

No party member would have disagreed with that assessment. Yet in struggling to realize this goal the Daily ran up against both the economic structure of a newspaper industry predicated on advertising revenues for survival and long-entrenched differences between Chicago's labor and socialist movements which made it impossible to secure the sustained support it needed in order to survive. While foreign-language socialist dailies could draw upon a rich network of ethnic socialist institutions to survive, and even to thrive, the Daily Socialist's ambitions to compete with Chicago's mainstream dailies on their own terms ultimately ensured its collapse.

The Socialist Party could quite probably (as critics of the expansion policy argued) have sustained a small-circulation, low-budget daily for several years--especially if it had taken advantage of the newspaper strike to reduce indebtedness. But to compete head-to-head with the capitalist press required increased investment and reliance on advertising revenue--neither of which were available without changes in policy and management that undermined already strained relations with the broader Socialist Party. But controversy was also inevitable, given the deep factional divisions within the Party and the ambiguities intrinsic to the Workers' Publishing Society structure.[77] Although the paper was issued in the Party's name and relied upon the Party for regular financial assistance, it was largely autonomous from Party control.

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[75] Executive Committee Minutes, April 18 1913, May 9 1913. It required several years to wrap up the paper's affairs. Cook County Superior Court issued its final decree dissolving the Workers' Publishing Society on May 10, 1921. (In Chancery, Genl. No. 14825. A copy was found in the Illinois State Archives, Dissolved Domestic Corporation Charters series. Efforts to locate the court file at the successor court proved unsuccessful.)

[76] to Wm. Bross Lloyd, Sept. 1 1910. Morgan papers, folder 58.

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[77] Disputants were not aligned on a strict left-right basis, however. The Daily's efforts to negotiate conflicting economic and political pressures drew Christian Socialists (normally aligned with the conservatives) into alliance with Morgan despite his general (though perhaps mistaken--Morgan bitterly opposed syndicalist tendencies often welcomed by his co-factionalists united primarily by their concern for a more explicitly working-class and Party-based movement) identification with the Party's left-wing. Christian socialists were appalled by advertisements for speculative schemes, left-wingers by its flirtation with Labor Party schemes and trade union officialdom.

Pro- and anti-Daily forces were closely balanced. In December 1911, the Cook County Delegate Committee voted 40-39 to expel Morgan from the Socialist Party based on his attacks against the paper and right-wing Party leaders. The expulsion, however, was quickly reversed by referendum. (Ralph Scharnu, "Thomas J. Morgan and the Chicago Socialist Movement, 1876-1901." Ph.D. Dissertation, Northern Illinois University, 1969, pp. 331-32.) John Broderick ("Thomas J. Morgan, Socialist and Labor Leader, 1875-1912," M.A. Thesis, University of Illinois, 1968, pp. 170-187) argues that Morgan was laying the basis for a left split during this period, and that "the Provoker represented the death rattle for the revolutionaries." The evidence tends more to indicate that Morgan was pressing for a more explicitly working-class orientation, closer alliance to the labor movement (despite his co-factionalists), and especially to reduce the influence of intellectuals in the movement.

Moreover, while the Daily was always dominated by the Party's right-wing, it was often able to call upon support from left-wingers as well. More important that the limited patronage it could offer in this regard was the enthusiasm kindled among the rank-and-file by the proposal. Party members of all factions agreed that a daily paper was essential to combat the capitalist press, and were willing to overlook a good deal in its behalf.

This was not an accident. The Socialist Party constitution explicitly prohibited the national party from owning or endorsing any official organ--a clause that based upon the experience of many of the Party's founders in the Socialist Labor Party, whose party-owned press "became an important factor in enabling the National Executive Committee to establish themselves as dictators over the party and crush out all opposition."[78] Party papers were issued by state and local organizations, by co-operative associations of party members, and by private individuals more or less sympathetic to the Party's goals. While there was no prohibition against local party ownership of the Daily, tradition and practical considerations both (the need to convince non-members and local unions--reluctant to donate to the Party itself--to contribute funds) argued against it.

Daniel DeLeon, editor of the Socialist Labor Party's Daily People (and the "dictator" referred to), disagreed, arguing that "the Party press expresses the collective view of the body... the cause of the masses is not safe in one man's hands." In an obituary for the Socialist's New York Daily Call, DeLeon argued that no English-language socialist paper could compete directly with its contemporaries, "it must furnish a specialized kind of news that the capitalist press either does not care for, or does not want--legitimate labor and social news."

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[78] International Socialist Review, "A Party Owned Press," July 1909, p. 69.

> The Call, from the start, went in to compete and contest their field with the capitalist newspapers. And, like a ship in the hands of a skill-less mariner, it stuck to the mistaken course... The considerable funds it started with quickly vanished; the still more considerable funds it subsequently roped in vanished likewise....
>
> A great opportunity was lost... The lodestar of the SP is "get-there-quick"; contempt for sober, small beginnings; confusion of bigness for greatness... In the socialist movement such a lodestar is the will-o'-the-wisp that rises over, and lures into quagmires.[79]

The Daily Socialist began with no such "considerable funds," but in its brief, stormy existence it did draw heavily upon the Party's resources. When it died, the International Socialist Review editorialized:

> For years the Daily has paralyzed the Socialist party of Chicago. Its chronic deficits have exhausted the resources and dampened the ardor of the most willing workers. Its editors, with a few honorable exceptions, have cringed before the officials of the reactionary craft unions, and edited the news columns of the paper in a way to suit these officials. Hundreds of thousands of dollars of working people's money have been sunk into turning out a cheap imitation of a capitalist daily, with nothing in it to fire the spirit of a rebellious wage-slave.[80]

In 1919, when the Socialist Party's Delegate Committee voted to "start a new daily paper at once" the motion carefully spelled out the lines upon which the paper was to be conducted: A four-page "party owned and controlled" evening paper printed in 10 point type on 12 point leading, sold for three cents a copy and printed by contract with no plant of its own, managed by the party's Executive Committee, employing none but party members of two years good standing "in agreement with the Bolsheviki of Russia and the Sparticans of Germany."[81]

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[79] Daniel DeLeon, Party Ownership of the Press, New York 1931, p. 29; Daniel DeLeon, "At the Bier of The Call," The People, April 9 1988, p. 5 (Written 1909, but first published in 1923).

[80] "Frenzied Finance in the Socialist Party," Jan. 1913, p. 562.

They would take no chances on a repeat of the Daily Socialist's ignominious collapse.

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[81] Minutes, Feb. 9 1919. Cook County Socialist Party collection, University of Illinois at Chicago archives. (The collection, regrettably, is quite incomplete, and contains no minutes prior to 1913. Scattered party minutes can be found in the Thomas Morgan papers held by the Universities of Chicago and Illinois.) The proposed daily was never issued, and the decision to launch it was almost certainly prompted (though there is no mention of this in the minutes) by the Chicago Federation of Labor's establishment of the Cook County Labor Party and the weekly The New Majority several weeks earlier.

THE ROLE OF THE NONPARTISAN LEADER NEWSPAPER DURING THE NONPARTISAN LEAGUE ORGANIZATION YEARS, 1915-1916

by

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During the 1915 autumn harvest in North Dakota, the first issue of a farmer-oriented newspaper was distributed across the state. It carried the following letter to the editor:

> Nonpartisan Leader:
> The name itself suggests success. I am proud to be a subscriber. God bless the person who conceived the idea of launching such a tremendous undertaking. We have a field for the work and I am glad we have a Nonpartisan Leader.
>
> Yours very truly,
> WM. OLSON[1]

Such was the enthusiastic welcome extended by one farmer in greeting the arrival of this new publication, printed for members of a new political undertaking.

When the "political prairie fire"[2] that was the Nonpartisan League swept across North Dakota in 1915 and 1916, the flames were fanned by the organization's own newspaper, the *Nonpartisan Leader*. The League was a grass-roots populist agricultural organization that grew out of the various agrarian reform movements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The group formed in early 1915 in an attempt to use state government to battle out-of-state monopolies that controlled grain grading, market prices and shipping rates. When launched about half a year after the League started organizing, the newspaper served several roles within the Nonpartisan League.

This research examines how the *Leader* served the League membership in ways commercial newspapers did not. Explanations of how the alternative press operates within dissident organizations argue that the publications of reform groups perform several important functions for their readers. These may include informing members, building community, legitimating the movement, serving as a public relations mechanism, promoting ideas not typically found in the marketplace of ideas, and countering anti-reform sentiment in the mainstream press.

Agrarian reform movements such as the Nonpartisan League were important to large segments of rural America in the decades after the Civil War, and all had newspapers serving their members. Few of these groups, though, were particularly successful politically. In contrast, the Nonpartisan League was more successful in gaining control of state government than any other agrarian reform movement. But the role its newspaper played in the organization has not been studied in terms of dissident press functions.

This study looks at the functions of the newspaper from September 1915 when the *Leader* published its first weekly edition, to November 1916, the date of the first general election entered by League-endorsed candidates. The *Leader's* contents were examined for these nearly 14 months, testing for various functions performed by the paper.

The Nonpartisan League developed from North Dakota's history of agricultural dependence on business interests controlled from outside the state. Farmers felt exploited by forces over which they had no control. Activists organized the League as a protest movement aimed at using state government to change the state's "colonial" status. In particular, North Dakota farmers felt dependent on economic institutions, headquartered elsewhere, that treated the state like a colony. These included railroads that carried crops to market, grain exchanges where commodities were sold, and banks that extended credit and loaned operating capital. Unfair grain grading practices and market price manipulations also received their share of criticism.[3]

The Nonpartisan League, when it was organized, was but one of several farmer protest movements in the state at the time that perceived these same problems.[4] The other groups, however, opposed direct political action, preferring instead to promote educational and social activities plus cooperative buying organizations. The American Society of Equity and the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union each had their own official newspaper but they differed from the *Nonpartisan Leader* by not promoting political remedies to farmers' problems. Many members of these organizations joined the Nonpartisan League, though, and the League endorsed many of their economic ideas in the pages of the *Leader*.

What the League did differently was embrace existing political and economic principles and give them new significance through political organization and action. The NPL hierarchy believed it best to avoid forming another third party since too many had failed. Political dominance could be achieved, the leaders thought, by working through the direct primary to gain control of the majority party of the state. The League was willing to endorse candidates of any political party, and promote them in the pages of the *Leader*, as long as League goals were supported.[5]

Many outsiders viewed the corrective measures endorsed by all these groups as radicalism, but these reforms were, in the farmers' eyes, simply reasonable attempts to make capitalism work to the producers' advantage and allow producers to gain more of a share of the dollars spent for agricultural products.[6]

The NPL used well-developed organizational tactics borrowed from the state's Socialist Party to form a strong, class-oriented, grass-roots group, and the *Leader*, after it started publishing, played several roles in the League. Research in the areas of the dissident press and political participation by groups indicates ways in which the *Leader* served League members. Benjamin Ginsberg asserts that mass education and mass communications "permitted governments to intervene in the formation of mass beliefs and opinions."[7] While the Nonpartisan League started as an outsider group opposing the established government power, it later became an insider group that controlled government power, and it used mass communications for mass education all along. Lauren Kessler agrees that education was one of the roles performed by the reform press, saying that dissident publications educated by presenting ideas not found in the mainstream press, explaining group goals and ideas, and criticizing existing political and economic systems.[8] Joseph Mader holds that the *Leader* was established because NPL officials "recognized the need of a campaign of education."[9] Michael McGerr describes how "educational politics" began to replace demonstrative partisanship in the late 19th century, with newspapers becoming central to a "campaign of education."[10] Lawrence Goodwyn says populist editors used "reasoned arguments" as one element in editorials analyzing the monetary system, performing in this way an educational function.[11] This educational role of reform publications is what Jean Folkerts calls the information function.[12]

Dissident newspapers also try to persuade readers that the organization's cause is a righteous one, Kessler argues.[13] This role is described by Folkerts as the legitimation function.[14] Goodwyn describes how populist editors used "indignant denunciations" and "moral injunctions" to emphasize the immorality and injustices of the late-19th century monetary system, which would help legitimate the ideas and reforms of the dissident group.[15]

Ginsberg argues that groups have used publications as a public relations mechanism to promote a cause,[16] and Mader contends that the *Leader* was established in part to provide "efficient propaganda for the League."[17] Kessler agrees that one role of dissident newspapers is to spread the philosophy of the organization's cause through propaganda.[18]

Folkerts identifies community building among group members as another important function of reform newspapers.[19] This function is accomplished in part by dissident publications through what Kessler describes as communicating to group members and providing a forum for exchange of ideas among members. Community building is furthered through publicizing meetings and events in which group members get together, Kessler says.[20]

Ginsberg contends that the "marketplace of ideas: promotes the ideas and beliefs and upper classes while subverting those of the lower classes, allowing upper- and middle-class ideas to dominate the market."[21] Kessler agrees that the marketplace of ideas tends to exclude divergent views, forcing dissident groups to form their own press in order to be heard.[22]

In addition to promoting the ideas of the organization's cause as they try to effect change, reform publications also devote space to countering the anti-reform sentiment commonly seen in the mainstream press, Kessler says. Reform papers show little concern for balanced coverage; rather, they constantly attack.[23]

Lynne Masel-Walters adds that, among other functions, reform movement publications teach their readers how the political process operates and the ways and means for readers to participate in it.[24]

A.C. Townley, the self-appointed leader of the Nonpartisan League, planned from the first to publish an "official organ" for members, but the startup of the paper had to wait for the availability of sufficient funds. The original receipts new members received when joining the NPL stated that membership dues included a subscription to an "official paper," to be established later.[25]

The *Nonpartisan Leader* made its first appearance on September 23, 1915, just over half a year after League organization had begun. The new paper had 22,000 subscribers, each a League member. The first editor was H.E. Behrens.

Charles Edward Russell, a Socialist writer, outlined the League's industrial and economic principles.[26]

The front page of the *Nonpartisan Leader's* first issue carried the publication's prospectus:

> THE THINGS THIS JOURNAL STANDS FOR
>
> This journal belongs to the farmers of the Northwest.
>
> It is founded by them to voice their protest against unjust and unrighteous conditions--to voice that protest and make it count.
>
> The farming class does the hardest work and gets proportionally the smallest return.
>
> This is the result of conditions that will never be changed or bettered until farmers, organized for their own protection, make their power and numbers felt at the polls and in government.
>
> This is why the Farmers' Nonpartisan Organization League came into being. It has no idea of starting a new party; it seeks only to secure union and organized effort that the farmers may secure their just share of representation in the affairs of government.
>
> The League is publishing *The Leader* to help that cause.
>
> If you believe in justice and true democracy, come and join hands with us. We start the *Leader* with the largest subscription list any journal ever began with in this state. We have gone far enough to see opening before us an inspiring prospect of achievement and usefulness. If all the friends of fair play will unite with us we shall surely make a new day in the history of agriculture in the Northwest.
>
> Read this paper from week to week. You will see in it how great is the opportunity to turn injustice into justice that shall endure for us and our children.[27]

This opening volley covered a lot of ground by referring to the abuses farmers faced, pointing out the exploitation and oppression of farmers, and telling farmers they were not getting their fair share. The foreward clearly stated the idea of organizing and uniting to achieve political goals, and working outside of political parties in a non-partisan manner. The statement legitimated the League through appeals to justice and fair play that tried to persuade readers the cause was a righteous one. The part that referred to farmers securing their share of governmental representation promoted an idea that likely was unpopular with those who controlled government for the benefit of business.

This first issue of the *Leader* launched into a campaign of education by running a story that farmers might not read in other newspapers. This story described how that year's large oat crop should have meant $2.7 million more income to farmers. Instead, price manipulation pushed oats down from 40 cents a bushel to 29 cents, so the extra six million bushels raised that year brought in $7 million less than the previous year's crop.[28]

A criticism of the existing economic order provided more information farmers probably wouldn't see in the independent press. An essay pointed out that when farmers had grain to sell right after harvest the price was low. But when speculators had grain to sell later the price was high. This situation was blamed on "market manipulation by men who gamble in grain."[29]

Commentary by Charles Edward Russell attempted to educate farmers about the benefits of organizing to effect change. It read:

> The biggest thing in modern society is organization. It is the biggest thing and the first thing in success. We don't get very far without it.
>
> Most classes of men and all classes of business that succeed are organized.
>
> The amount of success usually depends on the amount of organization.
>
> The whole trouble is that hitherto the farmers have not been organized to secure the influence in legislation and government that belongs to them.
>
> They have begun to organize now. Let us give thanks.[30]

Russell further legitimated the League and began to counter opposition that might appear in the mainstream press by saying:

> You have launched in a just and honest way a just and honest cause. Do not believe anything you read about it unless you read it in your own journal or journals that you know are absolutely with you.[31]

The next week's issue brought further legitimation along the same line that said, "You are seeking nothing that is not just, fair and righteous."[32]

One paragraph summed up the League's goals as follows:

> And when the votes shall have been counted after the next election there will be found administering the affairs of this state a body of men who will honestly represent the people of an agricultural community.[33]

The first issue of the *Leader* also started work on community building among members by printing biographical profiles and photographs of eight farmer/members who were among the first League organizers, plus profiles of six early farmer/members, to introduce them to readers.[34] These men were in no way officials of the League; they merely had helped recruit neighboring farmers after joining themselves.

Community building continued in the next issue with the introduction to members of six more men who helped in early recruiting. Photographs of these six were accompanied by brief biographical profiles.[35] The editor of the *Leader* contributed to community building and discussion among members with the following invitation to write:

> We want the farmers of North Dakota to get acquainted. We want you to get in touch with each other. To that end we invite you to write short letters for the Leader.[36]

One member responded with a letter advocating the NPL goal and attacking opponents. He said, prophetically:

> Fellow farmers, our day in politics is dawning. One grand sweep with the new Nonpartisan League broom will clean out the representatives of big business at Bismarck.[37]

The next week the *Leader* printed half a page of letters from readers. One of them commented on the new paper:

> I feel so joyous myself that I don't know to whom belongs the most cordial felicitations upon this most auspicious occasion.
>
> I am old and worn out myself but ... I would hate to die during the next five years. I want so badly to see the farmer come into his own.[38]

An anti-big business story attempted to counter the opposition League members faced:

> But secretly and covertly, by every means within its power, Big Business through its thousands of agents will labor to destroy our farmer organization.[39]

Russell continued to counter League opposition by warning members about the power of poisoned news in the "kept press" and how farmers should be on guard "against the poison stuff the press deals out to you."[40] More such commentary followed, along with an attempt to strengthen the will of members to fight:

> When a man opposes your organization he opposes your interest. There are nearly forty thousand of you now, and more to come. Think what you will do to the famous political machine if you keep sticking together. It's now or never. Stick together and stick tight.[41]

This idea of sticking together became a battle cry in the *Leader* pages, and "We'll Stick!" became the League's motto.

An essay summarized the League's philosophy:

> A new day has dawned in North Dakota. It is the Farmers' Day.
>
> He will get down to the fundamental cause of the in-

> justices and inequalities from which he has suffered.
>
> Other interests control the state. That is the reason the farmer is going to make laws himself for a while.
>
> That is the reason the farmers have banded together. They are going to get together, even at the sacrifice of their political labels. They will get together, not as Republicans or Democrats but as farmers. They will stand together and vote together.[42]

At times the *Nonpartisan Leader* engaged in public relations to appeal for support among non-farmers. One editorial urged League members to patronize businesses that advertized in the *Leader*. Another editorial said:

> The fight is not ... between the farmers and local business men. It is between the farmers and their friends on one side and on the other side SOME VERY RICH MEN OUTSIDE THE STATE SUPPORTED BY THEIR TOOLS AND PAID AGENTS IN THE STATE.[43]

The *Leader* publishers and NPL leadership had certain expectations of the roles they wanted the newspaper to play within the organization. They intended the paper to "provide both active expression of the functions of membership and a means of frequent report of the doings of the organization." Through the newspaper "the members of the League could be put in touch with each other, the purposes of the movement could be explained further, and, in short, the membership could be 'kept sold' on the proposition."[44] The perceived mission of the paper was to show farmers that the organization was a reality, to educate members in the League purposes, to remind farmers of the conditions under which they suffered, to maintain contact between members, and to provide a means of communication through which the NPL leadership could speak to members and promote the group's interests.[45] League speaking engagements were announced in the paper, which boosted turnout in the halls where speakers appeared. Field organizers found the newspaper helped in the recruitment of new members. Occasionally the paper even received favorable comments from the independent press for articles disclosing grain trade abuses and other inequities farmers faced.[46] Mader considers the proselytizing and propaganda carried by the new paper strong factors in the early success of the Nonpartisan League.[47] One of the major purposes of the newspaper was advocacy of the Nonpartisan League, along with providing a means by which to meet the attacks of League opponents.[48]

The *Leader* typically answered charges made against the League by the opposition, reminding farmers of the evils being fought, and promoted NPL policies and aims.[49] The ideas of unity among members, cooperation and a state-owned grain elevator showed up often.[50] The paper was a means to bring together members scattered across a large state. It also may have helped in converting others to the cause: by year's end the *Leader* circulated almost 30,000 copies, making it about twice the size of the state's largest independent newspaper.[51]

The first few editions of the *Nonpartisan Leader* set the tone for future issues. The campaign of education, providing information farmers would not find in the independent press, continued in late December and early January with a series of four essays which set forth League economic goals, to be achieved through political means. The series used reasoned arguments to explain why farmers needed state-owned grain terminal elevators and mills; publicly owned stock yards, packing houses and cold storage plants; and an improved state-operated hail insurance program.[52] These articles promoted ideas that may have been unpopular among non-farmers since the plans required that the state operate business ventures.

The importance of support for NPL programs from other farm groups was underscored in January 1916 when the state convention of the Society of Equity passed a resolution advocating League programs and commending the *Leader* for its stand against special privilege.[53]

The first call to political action on the part of League members came in late January 1916 with an announcement about upcoming precinct caucuses to elect League delegates to the state nominating convention.[54] An editorial urged member participation:

> Just how successful the League will be at the polls this fall and in the legislature next winter all depends upon how seriously you farmers start in with these precinct conventions.[55]

The next two issues of the *Leader* repeated announcements of the precinct caucuses and carried editorials exhorting members to participate actively in the political process. The caucuses were scheduled for George Washington's birthday so the paper emphasized the patriotic purpose of the meetings and compared League members to patriots of old.[56] The next week a *Leader* editorial said letters arriving in every mail convinced the editors that members were "going to act ALMOST TO A MAN." These letters indicate members were actively participating in political discussion. League leadership expected the caucuses to "mark the beginning of a new day for the farmers and the whole people of North Dakota."[57]

The farmers responded. Early reports that reached League headquarters the day after the caucuses showed as many as 50 members were present at many meetings.[58] Later estimates placed the number of League farmers attending the approximately 2,000 precinct meetings in the state at from 24,000 to 26,000. Almost every precinct elected a delegate to the state convention. Every League member in many townships attended the caucus, and in more than 50 cases every voter in the precinct was a League member.[59] An editorial said the first trial had been faced and farmers had "STOOD THE TEST" and met the "call to action ALMOST TO A MAN!"[60] North Dakota farmers showed in this instance a willingness to actively participate in the political process.

After the strong showing of participation by farmers in the precinct caucuses, the *Leader* wasted no time in drumming up attendance at the state nominating convention scheduled for the last weekend in March. A third of a page announced the dates of the convention, and urged every precinct to participate by sending a delegate.[61] An editorial by A.C. Townley said:

> If at every election you move in a body and vote as one man, as you did February 22, the success of the Farmers' Nonpartisan League is certain.[62]

Support for convention participation continued, with a story talking up the meeting appearing just over a week before the convention dates, along with a full-page announcement carried on the back page.[63]

A story published the day before the convention started educated members in the political process the NPL had to go through to elect its candidates by using the primary election system. It said that men:

> ... must be nominated and elected through the regular process provided by the state laws, which recognize party affiliations and provide for party primaries.
>
> The League itself is NONPARTISAN. Its purpose is to disregard party lines in the selection of its candidates, but it must recognize these party definitions in the nomination and election of its candidates because of the provisions of state law.

The story emphasized that men nominated for office by League delegates should be selected on a nonpartisan basis, that a man's party affiliation should not enter into his selection at all. The best man, regardless of party, should be nominated.[64]

Attendance at the nominating convention indicated political participation by League members was high. The *Leader* noted that 2,000 delegates, all farmers, attended the meeting and represented all 49 legislative districts and most of the state's precincts.[65]

This same issue of the *Leader* announced a series of seven "mass meetings" to be held around the state at which the League nominee for governor, Lynn Frazier, would be the featured speaker. These district gatherings would, in one sense, help to build community by serving to introduce in person to League members and the people of the state the League's candidate for governor, himself a farmer.[66]

A half-page announcement in the *Leader* served an education function by issuing a strong warning to League members to be careful about registering to vote in the primary. Members were told that since the Nonpartisan League was not a political party it was necessary that Leaguers register as Republicans or Democrats or Socialists or whatever just as they always had before. Members could then vote for League-endorsed candidates in whatever primary they were thus registered.[67]

Community building continued as stories detailed the "mass meetings" at which Lynn Frazier was addressing large crowds. The education process continued with another announcement reminding members how to register correctly for the primaries,[68] and these notices continued in each issue. In early May a filler announced:

> Farmers' Independence Day will be June 28. This is the date of the first state-wide primary at which the farmers have ever had a chance to make a clean sweep. They hold all the trumps and are going to take all the tricks.[69]

Because nominating petitions with a sufficient number of signatures were necessary to get the names of endorsed candidates on the ballots in the primary, many League members became further involved in the political process by going about with petitions gathering signatures. One farmer indicated the extent of such participation in his letter to the *Leader*:

> I am sending you the petitions you sent to me some time ago to have signed by the voters of this precinct. I was out with a horse and buggy for two days, besides what walking I did. None refused to sign their names whether members or not.[70]

In late May the *Leader* made the first announcement of what became the biggest community-building events of the year. A series of League campaign picnics was scheduled throughout the state with League candidates and speakers featured at each stop.[71] The response was tremendous.

Morlan describes these picnics as follows:

> These all-day affairs became virtually the event of the year in many rural areas, with great crowds driving in from miles around, and many assumed almost the aspect of county fairs, complete with bands, soft drink vendors, baseball, and children's games. Time and again the biggest collection of cars and rigs ever to be seen in a particular area was reported.[72]

Great enthusiasm greeted these picnics, with 6,000 people meeting Frazier at Maddock, "the greatest audience that ever assembled to hear a political speaker in this state." This figure was half the population of the county, and some people came from nearly 50 miles away. Between 5,000 and 6,000 attended at Bottineau and nearly that many were at New Rockford. At Lisbon 2,500 people stood in drizzling rain for two hours to hear League speakers. At Coulee, "Every available hitching post held a team and the curb was lined with automobiles."[73]

In addition to publishing campaign picnic schedules throughout the early summer, the *Leader* also featured a signed editorial by A.C. Townley in each issue during this time. He started the series with a strong moral injunction which further legitimated the League:

> LOSE? NO! We should WIN because we have right and justice on our side. We WILL win. We will win because we have on our side the numbers to back up right and justice.
>
> So we have justice and right on our side, and the

> numbers to make justice and right the victors. How then can we lose?
>
> If every member does his part it is impossible to lose.[74]

Besides the fiery Townley editorials, the *Leader* continued an educational campaign by printing sample ballots showing members how to mark them for NPL candidates. This was designed to encourage as much participation in the political process as possible among League members.

And it all worked. Despite a torrential downpour which flooded roads and washed out bridges, Lynn Frazier and the entire ticket for state offices endorsed by the NPL swept the state in the primaries. A headline above an election story said, "THEY STUCK AND THEY WON!"[75]

Excerpts from letters to the *Leader* illustrated the determination of many farmers to cast their votes:

> We had a bad afternoon, but got there just the same through hail, rain and mud.
>
> There were many precincts in which all of the League members got to the polls despite unprecedented difficulties.
>
> It rained here nearly all day, but in spite of the weather, we polled the largest vote that has ever been polled at a primary election since the law came into effect.
>
> It rained hard nearly all day but all voters voted but four.[76]

One report told of farmers tying their clothes on their backs and swimming swollen streams to get to polling places while others drove as far as 24 miles around washed-out bridges.[77]

Throughout the summer campaign the *Leader* continued to publicize candidate appearances, campaign picnics and other election-related events that brought members together. The paper also continued to advocate League ideas and programs, and counter League opposition.

In September the *Nonpartisan Leader* celebrated its first birthday. The editors invited the exchange of ideas with members by asking readers to write letters telling what they thought of the newspaper and what they wanted the paper to do in the future. The editors said, "Remember, it's your paper. It exists to serve you. Let's have your suggestions."[78]

A story celebrating the *Leader's* birthday outlined the ways the editors thought the paper served League members, and under a reprint of the first edition's prospectus, said:

> There was the Leader's path charted out for it from the beginning. It has been a journal of protest. It has no apology to make for that course. It has voiced the just protest of the farmers of the state against evils that were great and burdensome.
>
> We believe we are not boasting in saying that never in the history of the state have the evils that afflict the state been so clearly presented and with such telling force as they have been in the columns of the Leader.
>
> The officers of the League had a clear purpose in mind when they started the Leader. They knew that to succeed an organization such as the League was to be must have some means on keeping in touch with each other. The Leader was to be a means of communication, a meeting place of the great family of North Dakota farmers, a forum where ideas could be exchanged.
>
> The officers of the League have used the Leader to this end. Through it they have been able to keep the members in close touch with the work, to prevent misunderstandings, to warn the members about the activity of the enemy, to answer lying attacks which have met a wonderful response--the response of unanimous and united political action.
>
> Members of the League have not been slow to take advantage of the opportunities to exchange ideas through the columns of the Leader. Nothing the Leader has printed has been of greater interest or helpfulness. The Leader is not serving its full purpose unless its

readers are heard through its columns.[79]

The power of populist editors' indignant denunciations and moral injunctions was not lost on the *Leader* editors.

Throughout the rest of the campaign the *Leader* continued to publicize campaign picnics and meetings so farmer/members could meet the farmer/candidates. The paper also continued to inform voters how to mark their ballots. Editorials cautioned members that they had to look for candidates on the ballots because they could not vote a straight ticket.

Editorials informed members why the League-endorsed candidates for the state supreme court should be elected. One story about the court candidates said, "They are not owned by corporations."[80]

A full-page announcement by A.C. Townley, calling for precinct meetings the last week of October, said:

> The purpose of these meetings is to make final plans and arrangements for a SWEEPING VICTORY AT THE ELECTION.
> Get ready for the final battle. I feel sure you will all do your part again and if you do WE'LL STICK AND WE'LL WIN.[81]

Any Nonpartisan League member who even bothered to glance at the *Leader* in the last month before the election could not have missed all the campaign stories, sample ballots, editorials supporting League candidates, schedules of appearances by candidates, precinct meeting announcements, lists of League legislative candidates, and exhortations to get out the vote.

The last issue of the *Leader* before the election carried an announcement by Townley headed "Let's Stick Together."[82] For once North Dakota farmers did just that. The Nonpartisan League very nearly got its clean sweep. All state-wide League candidates won except for the candidate for state treasurer, who ran on the Democratic ticket. He lost by about 300 votes. Lynn Frazier, the farmer-candidate, won the governorship with more votes than the other three candidates combined. The League controlled the House of Representatives by a substantial margin. Only the Senate escaped control of the League, since only half the senators were up for election.[83]

A pair of letters to the *Leader* following the election seemed to sum up the situation rather well for the farmers. One said, "You will find the League 'stuck' here." Another said, "We have met the enemy and they are ours."[84]

The *Leader* was not the only political communication to reach North Dakota farmers. League organizers spread the word and recruited members, and League speakers and political candidates appeared before thousands. But the *Nonpartisan Leader* was the one medium that reached every NPL member on a regular basis, and the paper carried a strong and constant message.

The *Nonpartisan Leader* performed information, legitimation and community functions, it advocated NPL ideas and attacked opponents, it carried on a campaign of education to spread the philosophy of the cause, and it helped convert others to the movement. The *Leader* adopted the reasoned arguments, indignant denunciations and moral injunctions of the populist editors. The paper provided a means of communication by which League members could keep in touch with each other and exchange ideas. The *Leader* regularly countered opposition to the League carried in the mainstream press.

Because the Nonpartisan League was more successful politically than other agrarian reform groups, an examination of its publication can contribute to historical understanding. We can learn something in general about how the reform press has worked in America by studying the *Nonpartisan Leader*.

ENDNOTES

[1] Nonpartisan Leader (Fargo), September 23, 1915, 5. Hereinafter referred to as Leader.

[2] It may not be known who first described the Nonpartisan League as a "political prairie fire," but a 1919 reference quotes the Minneapolis *Tribune* as referring to "the political prairie fire that is now raging in North Dakota." "North Dakota's Revolution." The Literary Digest 60 (March 29, 1919): 2.

[3] Elwyn B. Robinson, History of North Dakota (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 327. Larry Remele, "Power to the People: The Nonpartisan League," in The North Dakota Political Tradition, ed. Thomas W. Howard (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1981), 67. Paul R. Fossum, "The Agrarian Movement in North Dakota" in Studies in Historical and Political Science, Volume 43, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1925), 98-99. James E. LeRossignol, What is Socialism (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1921), 240. Remele, 1981, 67. LeRossignol, 240.

[4] Theodore Saloutos, "The Rise of the Nonpartisan League in North Dakota, 1915-1917." Agricultural History 20 (January 1946): 43.

[5] Theodore Salutos, "The Expansion and Decline of the Nonpartisan League in the Western Middle West, 1917-1921." Agricultural History 20 (October 1946): 235. Robert L. Morlan, Political Prairie Fire: The Nonpartisan League, 1915-1922 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), 33-34. Phillip A. Korth, "The American Yeoman vs. Progress and the Nonpartisan League." North Dakota History 37 (Spring 1970): 134-35.

[6] Louis G. Geiger, "Conservative Reform and Rural Radicalsim." North Dakota Quarterly 28 (Winter 1960): 1-3. Benton H. Wilcox, "An Historical Definition of Northwestern Radicalism." Mississippi Valley Historical Review 26 (December 1939): 378-79.

[7] Benjamin Ginsberg, The Captive Public: How Mass Opinion Promotes State Power (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1986), 33.

[8] Lauren Kessler, The Dissident Press: Alternative Journalism in American History (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1984), 8-20.

[9] Joseph H. Mader, "The North Dakota Press and the Nonpartisan League." Journalism Quarterly 14 (December 1937): 321-23.

[10] Michael E. McGerr, *The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865-1928* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 69-70, 90, 95, 106.

[11] Lawrence Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 372-73.

[12] Jean Folkerts, "Functions of the Reform Press." *Journalism History* 12 (Spring 1985): 22-23.

[13] Kessler, 158.

[14] Folkerts, 23-24.

[15] Goodwyn, 372-73.

[16] Ginsberg, 108-09, 115, 118-19.

[17] Mader, 322.

[18] Kessler, 111-17.

[19] Folkerts, 23.

[20] Kessler, 113-14, 158.

[21] Ginsberg, 86, 89.

[22] Kessler, 19.

[23] Kessler, 117.

[24] Lynne Masel-Walters, "A Burning Cloud by Day: The History and Content of the 'Woman's Journal.'" *Journalism History* 3 (Winter 1976-77): 106.

[25] Herbert E. Gaston, *The Nonpartisan League* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920), 72-73. Gaston wrote from an insider's perspective since he had worked for League-controlled publications for three years at the time this work was published.

[26] Morlan, 36, 40. Charles E. Russell, *The Story of the Nonpartisan League* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1920), 203. Andrew A. Bruce, *Nonpartisan League* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), 60.

[27] Leader, 9/23/15, 1.

[28] Leader, 9/23/15, 2.

[29] Leader, 9/23/15, 6.

[30] Leader, 9/23/15, 7.

[31] Leader, 9/23/15, 7.

[32] Leader, 9/30/15, 7.

[33] Leader, 9/23/15, 12.

[34] Leader, 9/23/15, 2.

[35] Leader, 9/30/15, 3.

[36] Leader, 9/30/15, 7.

[37] Leader, 9/30/15, 7.

[38] Leader, 10/7/15, 3.

[39] Leader, 9/30/15, 4.

[40] Leader, 10/14/15, 4 and 10/21/15, 4.

[41] Leader, 9/30/15, 6.

[42] Leader, 9/30/15, 10.

[43] Leader, 11/23/15, 6 and 6/15/16, 1.

[44] Gaston, 74.

[45] Gaston, 80.

[46] Larry Remele, "The Nonpartisan League and the North Dakota Press: Organization Period, 1915-1916." *North Dakota Quarterly* 44 (Autumn 1976): 39-41.

[47] Mader, 323.

[48] Nathan Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States: 1828-1928* (New York: Rand School of Social Science, 1928), 368.

[49] Morlan, 37.

[50] Remele, 1981, 75.

[51] Robinson, 332.

[52] Leader, 12/23/15, 2; 12/30/15, 3; 1/6/16, 3; 1/13/16, 3.

[53] Leader, 1/17/16, 4.

[54] Leader, 1/17/16, 8.

[55] Leader, 2/3/16, 6.

[56] Leader, 2/10/16, 6.

[57] Leader, 2/17/16, 3.

[58] Leader, 2/24/16, 2.

[59] Leader, 3/2/16, 3.

[60] Leader, 3/2/16, 2.

[61] Leader, 3/9/16, 16.

[62] Leader, 3/16/16, 9.

[63] Leader, 3/22/16, 9 & 16.

[64] Leader, 3/30/16, 5-6 & 9.

[65] Leader, 4/6/16, 3.

[66] Leader, 4/6/16, 31.

[67] Leader, 4/6/16, 32.

[68] Leader, 4/13/16, 16.

[69] Leader, 5/4/16, 3.

[70] Leader, 5/25/16, 2.

[71] Leader, 5/25/16, 24.

[72] Morlan, 66.

[73] Leader, 6/22/16, 1 & 6-7.

[74] Leader, 6/1/16, 1.

[75] Leader, 7/6/16, 1 & 3.

[76] Leader, 7/13/16, 16.

[77] Frederick M. Davenport, "The Farmers' Revolution in North Dakota." *The Outlook* 114 (October 11, 1916): 325.

[78] Leader, 9/21/16, 6.

[79] Leader, 9/21/16, 6.

[80] Leader, 9/28/16, 1.

[81] Leader, 10/12/16, 1.

[82] Leader, 11/2/16, 32.

[83] Morlan, 87-89.

[84] Leader, 11/16/16, 8.

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